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COLYER MERIWETHER, Editor.

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Gen. M. J. WRIGHT. Dr. STEPHEN B. WEEKS.
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OF THE

SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.

COLYER MERIWETHER, Editor.

ISSUED BI-MONTHLY.

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Pursuant to a call signed by nearly a hundred representative persons of the South, the Southern History Association was organized at the Columbian University, Washington, D. C., on the evening of April 24, 1896, for the purpose of studying the history of the Southern States. In carrying out this aim an annual meeting is held, and a Bi-monthly Publication issued. The Association also desires contributions of journals, letters, manuscripts and other material towards the beginning of a collection of historical sources. It will gladly accept papers based on research and documents on all subjects touching the South.

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VOL. IX. JANUARY, 1905. No. 1

VICE-PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON.

BY DAVID M. DEWITT.
Kingston, N. Y.

(Continued.)

The man who became Vice-President under the cloud of a national scandal and, after so brief an interval, became President under the cloud of a national calamity, was in his fifty-seventh year and had but ten years more to live. Behind him lay a career which, starting from the bottom of the social order and mounting with steady movement, step by step and grade by grade, to the topmost height, is without a parallel in the history of his own and, perhaps, of any other country, ancient or modern. His inner life had been one long struggle between a native intellect of no ordinary calibre and those hampering deficiencies entailed by the lack in youth of even the rudiments of culture. His outer life had been one series of hard-won victories over the well-nigh insurmountable obstacles with which, one after another, the society into which he was born blocked his path.

Born in Raleigh, North Carolina, on the twenty-ninth day of December, 1808, he was, strictly speaking, the only representative of the poor whites of the South that rose

to preëminence in the history of this country. In his fifth year he lost his father and in his tenth he was apprenticed to a tailor, whom he served six years, when in consequence of a youthful piece of mischief he fled to Laurens Court House, South Carolina, where for two years he worked at his trade. He then went back to Raleigh, made his peace with his master for his offense and his flight, and, in September, 1826, with his mother and step-father, set out over the mountains for East Tennessee. One dark night, in a cart drawn by a blind pony, the travelers reached the village of Greeneville and camped out in a field near the spot where the Johnson mansion now stands. As was said in the Senate of this youth of eighteen, "a tailor's kit, his thimbles and his needles were probably the sum-total of his earthly possessions." School, he had never known and never was to know. During his apprenticeship, he had taught himself to read by laboriously learning the letters and then spelling out the words and sentences in a book which a kind friend, after coming to the shop and reading aloud to him for some time, bestowed upon him as a gift. This memorable volume—religiously kept by its owner until his dying day—was a school text-book entitled: "The American Speaker: a selection of Popular Parliamentary and Forensic Eloquence," published at Philadelphia in the year 1818. So deeply were its contents engraved on his memory, that the more striking passages became a part of the student's own vocabulary—the mould into which his thoughts on kindred subjects naturally ran; his speeches being interlarded with words, phrases and even whole sentences consciously or unconsciously taken from these specimens of classic eloquence. In the May following his advent in the village, the young tailor married a girl of respectable family, a native of the neighborhood and two years younger than himself. She it was who urged him to learn to write, and, in the shop dur-

ing the day and at home at night, he taught himself under her guidance the rudiments of learning—all that his wife had been able to acquire in that secluded region. When his elder daughter, who was but twenty years younger than her father, began to attend school—by which time he had become a prosperous and leading citizen—he contracted the habit of joining her in her studies at home, and until she had completed an academic education father and daughter, leaning over the same book, followed the quest of knowledge together; this favorite child being in one sense her father's schoolmistress in the days of her youth and becoming his most intimate counselor in the days of his greatness. Still, it should be borne in mind, that the discipline and developmen of his intellect and the bent of his mind were due in great measure to his own unwearied efforts. In his boyhood, the daily conning over of printed words cast in a particular mould—exemplified in his one book—generated an exalted estimate of the powers of public speech and a consuming desire to wield them himself. In the early days of his manhood, his real school was the political issues of the times. Old Hickory—the idol of Tennessee—being President, the impending war on the United States Bank and, more particularly, the nullification threats of South Carolina furnished rich topics for debate. His shop soon became the centre of political discussion and the figure sitting cross-legged on the bench, plying his needle and joining in the talk, the presiding genius and oracle of the circle. Later on he organized a debating society which met every week in the school-house, mingling in the homely debates with extraordinary zest and becoming distinguished in the neighborhood as a very paragon of eloquence. In this shop, twelve feet square, in this debating society hidden in the mountains, were sown in the heart of the young tailor the seeds of that fondness for controversy, of that perseverance in retort as the only escape from acknowledged defeat

—the belief that to have the last word was the sole test of victory—so noticeable in the public man. And, here, also, were developed qualities still less agreeable. The preëminence so early and so freely accorded him fed a self-esteem, large enough as it was by nature, that made him opinionative, intolerant of opposition and at times unreasonably resentful against an adversary of equal power and superior culture. But, on the other hand, this rough unacademic education made him what he most emphatically was—the leader of his own class—the low-born, the poor, the illiterate, the unrefined; and it was of this class he remained the leader to the end. These humble followers always recognized him as one of their own men; always put trust in him as their heaven-accredited and all-sufficient champion. The poor whites of Tennessee were the clan of which Andrew Johnson was the beloved chieftain.

Herein consists the principal distinction between him and the two self-taught men who were Presidents before him. Like him, they too sprang from the poor and uneducated, but, unlike him, soon emancipated themselves from the class of their origin; and neither in any strict sense was ever its representative. Andrew Jackson early in life joined the landed and governing class in which he took his place as though born to it; and his military career elevated him to a social rank far above the common soldiers he led. Abraham Lincoln, in his youth, bore the burden of the rough sons of toil, but his study and pursuit of the legal profession soon lifted him into intimate association with the prosperous and the learned. But Andrew Johnson never lost touch with the unlettered comrades of his prime—never, while engaged in trade at all, became anything higher than a mere working tailor; owed nothing for his advancement to the landed interest, to military glory, to the profession of the law; these three main stepping-stones to political eminence. As his public career widened and he mingled

more and more in affairs of state, he of course came in contact with the scholarly statesman and the polished man of the world; but the contact was never so close and continuous as to draw him permanently from his native sphere. However high he rose he was always most at home among the ununiformed—the yeoman, the workingman, the small trader, the hard-handed tiller of the soil—the plain layman as contra-distinguished from the cleric, the professional man, the college graduate.

In a democratic republic, we need not wonder that the rise of a representative of that class which can say of the Third Estate what Louis XIV said of the State itself—"I am that," was steady and resistless. Alderman of his village at twenty and until at twenty-two he became its mayor; member of the lower house of the legislature of Tennessee at twenty-seven; after an intervening defeat reëlected at twenty-nine, and senator at thirty-three, he emerges from the limits of his State as representative in Congress at thirty-five. After a service of ten years in that body he is recalled to be chosen governor, and after serving two terms in that capacity, in the year 1857—at the age of forty-nine—he is sent to the Senate of the United States. Every step in this upward course, however was gained only through contests of the hottest kind. His first field being in the neighborhood in which he lived, his first conflict was with the landholders of the vicinage, whom the constitution of the state gave a monopoly of certain privileges of office; and his faithful championship of the cause of the landless won for him supremacy in the municipal government and eventually led to the desired amendment, to secure the adoption of which he devoted his whole energy. The field widened for his next battle, carried on in the lower house of the legislature, as well as in the district he represented, against a mania for lavish internal improvements; in which final victory, won at the cost of a first de-

feat, strengthened him all the more with his constituents. The arena still widening, he next engaged in the political controversies which at this time shook the State. In the revolt of Tennessee against the decree of her great son naming Martin VanBuren his successor, he took part but he stubbornly remained behind in the broken ranks of his party when Hugh L. White and John Bell carried their following into the camp of the Whigs almost to a man. As a presidential elector, he led a forlorn hope against Harrison and Tyler, addressing the people in every part of the State—and establishing a reputation as a singularly persuasive public speaker, which was never afterwards shaken. He was one of the "immortal 13" in the state senate that blocked the election of a Whig United States senator. As soon as the Democrats recovered their ascendency, he announced himself as a candidate for representative in Congress and his entrance into the councils of the nation was signalized by the overthrow of William G. Brownlow, called "the fighting parson." His ten years in the House were chiefly distinguished by his persistent advocacy of the Homestead Bill—a bill giving one hundred and sixty acres of the public lands to every actual settler. As he once stated with arithmetical precision, "the House of Representatives passed it six years, two months and fifteen days after its introduction." His campaign for reëlection as governor was characterized by himself as "the most bitter, vindictive and (he might say) malignant ever conducted in any State of this Confederacy." It was waged against the combined forces of old Whigs and so-called Americans just after the repeal of the Missouri compromise. He "canvassed" (to use his own words) "the State from the mountains of Johnson county to the Chickasaw Bluffs." He had a competitor who was eloquent—"who was with him on every stump in the State." And, notwithstanding the opposition party carried both houses of the legislature, he was

elected by three thousand majority. In a word, from the beginning up to the point we have now reached, his life had been a succession of appeals and counter-appeals to the one supreme tribunal he recognized—the common people.

Let us look at the man as he enters the Senate in the first year of the administration of President Buchanan.

A thick-set sturdy figure of middle height clad in conventional black,—broad-cloth coat, velvet vest, ample stock encircling an old-fashioned standing collar—a large head, the broad and deep-furrowed front just over-balanced by the massive development behind; a clean-shaven face with something of the American Indian cast; complexion florid; hair dark; cheek bones high; long upper lip; heavy lower jaw; motionless firm-set mouth; and smallish hazel eyes, so dark as to be scarcely distinguishable from black, peering from under overhanging brows with a steady straight forward heavy-laden gaze; a stern and melancholy visage in repose. Signs, not to be mistaken by a close and competent observer, testify to the obscurity of his origin and the wildness of his growth; yet the native bearing of the man is stately and full of the confidence of power. When engaged in debate, his voice is low and sometimes insinuating in tone, his manner unperturbed, his gestures few and never violent. No matter how strong and even vehement the language, there is no screaming, scarcely an elevation of the key. While he is not frequent in debate, when he does take part he throws himself into the arena with all the ardor of youth and with something of youth's single aim to carry off the prize.

His speech it was, more than anything else, that betrayed his lack of early training and culture. Awkward often, now and then, it was even incoherent; and he had a fashion of hammering away at a single thought until by repeated variations of language he at last got it out. When he had once caught the phrase or verbal expression that suited him,

the same collocation of words would occur again and again, sometimes in the same speech, always in subsequent speeches on related subjects. Despite these draw-backs, however, there was a singular impressiveness about the man as a speaker. His dead-earnestness was manifest notwithstanding the absence of loudness. The determination never to submit or yield was graven on his brow. Although at moments the tone of his voice seemed to carry too much of "whispering humbleness," and his manner might appear affectedly obsequious; the impression soon fled before the glare with which he encountered a presuming interrupter and the manifest joy with which he girded himself for controversy. If not always "armed," he was always "eager for the fray." Andrew Johnson looked what he was—the very incarnation of pugnacity. Nature had endowed him with a fondness for fight. Circumstances had directed the predisposition into the forensic field. A tumultuous career had developed it into a ruling passion. He devoutly believed in the reliability of the common people. He devoutly believed in the limitless power over them of public speech. And he had come not less devoutly to believe in his own skill and efficiency as a public speaker. It was this skill and efficiency, he believed, that had brought him to the height where he now stood, and he took an exultant pride in attributing his long series of victories before the people to this source. When he came at last to try his powers with the keen debaters of the House of Representatives and the Senate, the result was not so exhilarating. In such encounters, he seemed at times uncomfortably conscious of his disadvantages, and nonplussed at the sudden failure of his favorite weapon; yet under no penalty would he acknowledge a weak spot in his armor. He pressed on for victory, apparently insensible to the sharp wounds, the swift blades of his dexterous adversaries, shrewdly searching the rude gaps he unwittingly left, were able to inflict.

These encounters with the accomplished debaters of the forum, while really shaking the solid basis of self-confidence his past successes had built up, at the same time made him the more egotistic on the surface and the more sensitive to any inimical allusion to the circumstances of his early career. Over and over again he ostentatiously numbered the steps of the ladder by which he had mounted, that he might stand the more securely on the top. In some pending struggle he kept his courage up by crowing over his former victories. And, yet, with all this seeming boastfulness—at bottom, but the outgrowth of an underlying self-distrust—there was a total absence of those eccentricities by which the unlettered representatives of the back districts often made themselves conspicuous. There were no disheveled locks; no long unkempt whiskers; no shrieks; no clawing the air; no shirt without a collar. To the wild prophets of the prairie, the Tennessee senator bore still less resemblance than he did to the stately planters of the Old Dominion. In personal appearance, he presented much more of the smugness of the well-to-do-trader than of that mixture of slovenliness and bravado in which the rough men of the border seemed to take pride.

This life of controversy, moreover, had not passed without its mellowing influences. It has made him, for one thing, an extremely reticent man; in conversation a patient listener, but slow, cautious, and chary of speech. "President Johnson," so testifies one of his provisional governors, "never signifies * * whether he approves or disapproves of what you say * * * He listens to what you have to say and withholds whatever may be his own views." For another thing, it had transformed the instinctive bravery with which he was born into an open-eyed courage—moral as well as physical—staunch in every crisis, proof against every peril and detecting a coward at sight. It had forced him, furthermore, to store his mind with heaps of informa-

tion upon particular subjects for the time being absorbing his attention; in this way contracting a habit of consulting the masters of modern literature and learning, who could not fail to lay a training hand, though late, upon the undisciplined play of his powerful understanding. And so it came to pass, singular as it may appear, that whenever he took his pen and sat down to put into writing the finished product of his silent cogitations, every vestige of egotistic allusion, rough phrase, false syntax; every indication of incoherencê in idea and inadequacy of expression—features that invariably disfigured his impromptu speeches—dropped from his style; and his thoughts flowed out like a clear smooth stream, keeping well within its bounds, transparent to its depths, and steady in its course.

This single accomplishment, having been but seldom employed by its possessor hitherto, was as yet unknown to the world. The rising statesman and orator seemed to have relied upon his capabilities for extemporaneous debate wherein his native deficiencies appeared side by side with his native strength, to the neglect of his acquired ability of premeditated composition wherein his native strength displayed itself, if not with so instant an effect, yet freed by self-culture from the deformities of its growth.

A glance at his carer in the Senate will illustrate the foregoing observations.

His first difference of opinion arose, singularly enough, with Jefferson Davis over a bill for an increase of the army in view of the impending war with Brigham Young. Johnson opposed the increase on the ground that citizen soldiers either as militia or volunteers were adequate to the emergency and even preferable on general grounds to regulars. His economical notions having been disparaged as narrow and demagogical, he let fall the following defence, which may serve as illustrative of his style of speech:

"I came into the Senate of the United States as a Democrat and, if I know myself, I intend to be one in practice as well as in theory.

I know it is against the taste, the refined and peculiar notions of some men who get into high places, to talk about curtailing or reducing the expenditures of the government. That, with them, is all cant; that is all for Buncombe; that amounts to nothing! * * * * * * It may be said 'Oh!' he is a pence-calculating politician; he talks about the pence; he talks about the shillings; and consequently he is not to be regarded as being a statesman expanded in his views, liberal in his feelings, that grasps and takes in the scope of his mind all the nations of the earth and 'the rest of mankind.'"

Davis, on the contrary, favored the enlistment of regular soldiers on the ground that the material from which volunteers were drawn was too precious for such expeditions as the one contemplated. Johnson's reply is characteristic:

"What is the material of which European armies are composed? There is a broken-down and brainless-headed aristocracy, members of decaying families that have no energy by which they can elevate themselves, relying on ancestral honors and their connection with the Government. On the other hand there is a rabble, in the proper acceptance of the term—a miserable lazzaroni, lingering and hanging and wallowing about their cities, that have no employment; and they are ready and anxious to enter the service of the Government at any time for a few six pences to buy their grog and a little clothing to hide their state of nudity. Such is the material of which their armies are composed—the rabble on the one hand and the broken-down decaying aristocracy on the other. Where does the middle man stand? Where does the industrious bee that makes the honey stand, from whose labor all is drawn? Where is he? He is placed between the upper and the nether millstone and is ground to death by the office-hunter on the one hand and the miserable rabble in the shape of soldiery on the other. I want no rabble here on the one hand and I want no aristocracy on the other. Let us elevate the masses, and make no place in our Government for the rabble, either in your Army or the Navy; but let us pursue those great principles of government and philanthropy that elevate the masses on the one hand, and dispense with useless offices on the other. Do this and you preserve the great masses of the people on whom all rests; without whom your Government would not have an entity."

But this encounter may be considered amicable compared with the pitched battle that took place a few days after between the new senator and his venerable colleague. John Bell was a statesman of the old school, having long ago achieved a national reputation. An old line Whig; Speaker of the House of Representatives in the days of Van Buren;

Secretary of War in the days of Tyler; for the last ten years, one of the senators of Tennessee representing the Whig party until its downfall, and then the so-called Native-American; destined yet to be head of the Bell and Everett ticket in the momentous presidential contest to come. The Kansas-Nebraska Act, with its incidental repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he had opposed; and consequently was now under a cloud in his own State. Johnson, on the other hand, had been sent to the Senate as the first fruits of the reaction in Tennessee in favor of the Democratic party, resulting from the adoption of the policy embodied in that measure. The cautious, methodical old public functionary seems to have regarded the advent of his young colleague with disquieting apprehensions; for we have it from his own words that he "supposed him capable * * * of carrying the torch of domestic discord from Johnson county in the east to Shelby county in the west whenever he shall be tempted by his ambition to do it"; capable, "whenever tempted to it by being thwarted in his career" of becoming "an incendiary on this question" (the dissolution of the Union) "in my own State"; he "looked upon his colleague as a man with that sort of temper, disposition and principles who would not hesitate to bring the question home in Tennessee, whatever might be the consequences."

Friendly intercourse between the two was tending to soften this prejudgment, when there arrived resolutions of the legislature of their State instructing her senators to vote for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, and condemning Bell's course on the Kansas-Nebraska bill nearly four years before. The senior senator before presenting the resolutions sought out his uncensured colleague with the request to allow any remarks he might see fit to make to pass without reply; to which request Johnson responded that his course in that respect would depend upon their tenor. The remarks that followed were respectful in

tone, Bell claiming that the legislature of Tennessee at the time of the passage of the Nebraska Act had expressed no opinion on the subject, that the people of Tennessee had not passed upon the merits of that measure at any election since and that therefore the present legislature had no jurisdiction to condemn his course so long past; while, concerning the instructions which he stated he did not consider binding, he left his compliance somewhat in doubt. To Johnson this treatment of the subject being unsatisfactory, he deemed it his duty to defend the action of his State. Coming into the Senate, as his angry adversary complained, "with books all marked down, with earmarks accompanying them, he most unexpectedly made one of the bitterest, one of the most insulting and most personal replies in every respect that malice, premeditated malice and determination, could invent"—"a three hours' speech bringing forward ornamental passages which he had been in the habit of reciting on the stump from Johnson to Shelby, when canvassing the State—all his studied views of the philosophy of government and the philosophy of slavery—all his notions of the rights of the people and squatter sovereignty." This severe criticism, Johnson's reply, which followed directly after the close of Bell's first remarks, did not deserve, at least so far as the first part of it was concerned. Johnson, at the outset, endeavored to refute Bell's statement that, at the time of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, neither the legislature nor the people had expressed their approval of that measure—a measure which, in passing, he justified on the following somewhat original grounds:

"The people are the source of all power; and when they come to form their organic law, it is for them to determine the character of their institutions. * * * The Kansas-Nebraska bill proclaims the great principle which was incorporated into the Declaration of Independence." * * * * *

"The idea of a man who can reason from cause to effect talking about sovereignty being vested in the Congress of the United States strikes me as very singular. * * * Can we by any process of reasoning convert the derivative into the primitive? Can we convert

the creature into the creator? Whence does this Government derive its power? From the States. * * * Where do the States derive their power? From the people. The people are the source, the original lodgment of power. Power is inherent in man now as in the Revolution. When a State is to be formed you must go back to the original power. Congress cannot impart it. * * * Congress may admit new States, but it has no power to make one. * * * It must be a State before. Congress cannot admit anything but a State; but it is not the act of admission that makes the State. * * *

"Man carries sovereignty with him into the Territories; and sovereignty is the essential necessary to constitute a State. When the people in a Territory come to form their organic law, it is for them to combine their will in the shape of a Constitution. * * * Government emanates from them. * * * A government might be itinerant yet it would be with the people though it might have no abiding place. All that is necessary is the assent of Congress, the fee being here."

So far there was, certainly, nothing offensive. But at this point the two senators fell into a colloquy. Not comprehending the position of his colleague concerning the instructions of the legislature, Johnson asked him to restate it. An interlude of explanations on one side and confessions of inability to fully comprehend on the other ends with Bell's confident: "Now I hope my colleague understands me," and Johnson's "Not quite," which carries a note of coming storm. The elder senator enters into a further explanation and makes matters worse by alluding to his own "large interest" in slaves, and to the danger of all agitation of the slavery question which the course of the Democratic party tended to keep up. His antagonist, now ironical to the danger line, acknowledges his own "obtuseness" in not being able yet to understand.

BELL. "I am sorry for it."

JOHNSON. "It is an unfortunate condition to be in. In the first place I understand my competitor"—

BELL. "I am no competitor of my colleague."

This over-prompt correction hurt Johnson's sensitive self-esteem, and from now on his language grew more and more personal. He taunts his antagonist with truckling to the North while he votes with the South; quoting the doggrel he "used to hear when a boy":

"He wires in and wires out,
Leaving the people all in doubt
Whether the snake that made the track
Is going North or coming back."

As for himself, he declares his intention to vote for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution because he believed "it is right and the most effectual means" to settle the agitation now pervading the whole country. If he had been a member of the territorial convention he would have voted to submit the whole constitution to the people—"but the people were present in the convention and they determined that point for themselves." His exposition of what Bell called "his studied views on the philosophy of slavery" will be found interesting:

"I avow my sentiments here; I have avowed them in the other end of the Capitol; I have avowed them at home in reference to the great question of slavery; and I will say, as my honorable colleague has lugged it in or thrown it in, that I think I understand the basis on which the institution of slavery rests. We may make our speeches to please the North or please the South, as may suit us best, and subserve our interests most; but just so long as men are organized as they are, physically and mentally, one having more brains and more intellectual power than another, there will be different classes in society. * * *

"Let me illustrate my meaning by example: Here are two men one of whom has double the physical strength of the other. Let us talk about things plainly and homely. I know this may be considered in bad taste by some; but sometimes the simplest similes best explain a subject. Take these two men, the one having twice the physical strength of the other, and put them to making rails. I know that is not a senatorial term, but it is a common thing in this country. The man of double physical strength will make twice as many rails in the course of a day as the other. Is not that a difference between men? The man of double the physical strength will increase in wealth, in anything to which you apply his labor, twice as rapidly as the other man. So it is with the exercise of the brain. This grows out of the organic structure of mankind. When you form a community out of individuals they commence the work of production, intellectual and physical; and, as society moves on through time, we find some occupying the lower places and some occupying the higher places. I do not care whether you call it slavery or servitude; the man who has menial offices to perform is the slave or the servant, I care not whether he is white or black. Servitude or slavery grows out of the organic structure of man. All the talk which we hear in deprecation of the existence of slavery is idle, and a great portion of it mere twaddle. Slavery exists; it is an in-

gredient of society growing out of man's mental and physical organization; and the only question for us to discuss is what kind of slavery we shall have; not the existence of slavery for it is in society; it is an element, an ingredient that you cannot get rid of so long as man's organic structure is what it is. Will you have white or black slavery? Shall it be voluntary or involuntary? These are the only questions. As to the great thing itself, about which there seems to be so much difficulty, it exists beyond the reach and the control of man, unless he can reconstruct society, and after he has done that, reorganize the material of which society is composed."

Shortly after this argument, whose force rests on a manifest confusion of terms, he was unlucky enough again to designate his colleague as his "competitor"; and Bell, now thoroughly indignant at the charge of duplicity, repudiated the epithet with a scornful emphasis which stung Johnson to the quick.

"My colleague says he is not my competitor in any respect.

"Having had a good many competitors to contend with, the term has become familiar to me in speaking in opposition to another, and when one gets in the habit of using such terms they are repeated unconsciously."

Bell hastened to exclaim that he excused it; that he did not mean any offense; but Johnson was beyond the reach of appeasement. He launched into a reminiscence of a campaign in Tennessee when it was declared beforehand that "Hon. John Bell was going forth trident in hand; that he was going to put down everything before him and smaller aspirants had better get out of the way."

"He was in the field with his armor on; and it was given out in a boasting and taunting manner that it made no odds whom he met, whether it was Richard or Saladin, whether it was Saxon or Saracen; if he came in contact with the Hon. John Bell his casque was sure to be crushed." And when it was over—"Who was crushed? * * * *

"A gentleman and well-bred man will respect me and all others I will make do it."

"'Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed,
That he is grown so great?'

"Is he beyond the reach of popular sentiment? In rather a taunting and sneering manner he says he is not my competitor in any sense. If you have never been my competitor, your equals have; and in the conclusion of their contest they adjusted their robes and

prepared themselves for their fate; and * * fell like honorable men. I stand here to-day not as the competitor of any Senator but I stand here in a senatorial sense the compeer of any Senator. I know my rights, and I intend to try to learn the proprieties of the Senate, and in compliance with those proprieties, my rights and the rights of the State which I have the honor in part to represent, shall be maintained (to use terms very familiar with us) at all hazards and to the last extremity. So much for 'competitors.' "

The venerable statesman of Tennessee felt so outraged by this onslaught that, despite the efforts of other senators to dissuade him, he persisted in replying on the instant, and did go on at some length and with great heat until his friends succeeded in forcing an adjournment. The next day he returned to the attack in a more tranquil humor and completed his rejoinder, which is now interesting to us only in so far as it furnishes traits of character and traces of the opinions of his colleague. For example, he affirms that he could not "trace in any speech or letter" of Johnson's that he had taken any ground in favor of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, "except in his usual course of declaration in behalf of the fundamental right of the people always to govern themselves, and to ride down and overslaugh all who should pretend to smother their voice, and level all who should have any pretentions as 'aristocrats'—'slaveholding aristocrats.' " Again:

"Governor Johnson has a potent influence in Tennessee, even if you have not heard of him before, and in his own party particularly. He controls his party on many questions. If their opinions and views do not correspond with his generally, he lets them understand that they shall conform to his views. This is magnifying him greatly; but not unduly."

He arraigned Johnson on account of the course he had taken in the legislature of 1842 in contending that the apportionment of the congressional districts should be based upon the number of qualified voters, so that East Tennessee, where there were but few slaves compared with the middle and western sections, should have her just share. In conclusion he alluded to the threat of his adversary:

"I say to my colleague that, after his speech yesterday, I cannot respect him until he gives proper explanation of it; and now or at any time, let him attempt to make me respect him."

When the distinguished senator ceased and Johnson rose, the presiding officer manifested a wish to stop a controversy which was growing unseemly; but, after a moment, the younger senator was allowed to proceed. He retracted nothing. His strokes on the contrary were uglier than ever.

"My colleague tells the Senate and the country that until I withdraw certain expressions in reference to his public course or opinions, he will not respect me. I repeat that in all that intercourse that brings man in contact with man I will make him respect me. I will leave that right there, making a full period."

In defence of his course in the legislature of 1842, he said:

"I introduced a resolution that if the State were laid off into districts, the districts shall be composed of the several counties in the State, without regard to slave population. Another resolution was that the one hundred and twenty thousand qualified voters of the State should be divided by eleven, and that each eleventh of the qualified voters of the State should elect one Representative. I was for it then, and I am for it now. It is right and it is correct. In the States, we hold that slaves are property. We hold, in laying our States off into senatorial and representative districts, that property is not an element of representation."

"I was attacked upon it, and it was discussed from one extreme of the State to the other. I had to discuss the question in the strongest slave-holding county in the State of Tennessee—Fayette. I discussed it with Augustus Henry, who is called the eagle orator—the lineal descendant of the forest-born Demosthenes, Patrick Henry."

These were his last words:

"I feel now that I have pursued my colleague almost too far; for, from the contortions and restlessness manifested by him, I am not mistaken about the result. I know (and I say it not in the spirit of boast) when I have issues that will hold; I know when I have my victim that I can grip; I know when I have got the argument, and the fact that will sustain me, and upon which I rely; and I have no disposition to pursue my colleague still further. * *

I look, politically speaking, on my honorable colleague as now being down. He is now out of power and he that is down can fall no lower. I am a humane man. I look upon him in his prostrate condition with all the tender sympathies of humanity. * * I will not mutilate the dead, nor add one additional pang to the tortures of the already—condemned."

This altercation, besides abounding in significant glimpses of character and disposition, is deserving of particular notice on account of the revelation it makes of the mental attitude of Andrew Johnson towards that great bone of contention—the institution of African slavery. That attitude was peculiar and, in view of the conspicuous and exceptional stand on the secession question he subsequently took, liable at the present day to be misunderstood. On the one hand, he did not occupy the position of the statesmen of the early days of the Republic—Jefferson's for example, nor that of the conservative statesmen of the South of the middle period (which was substantially the same as Jefferson's,) viz: That slavery, although, abstractly considered, a personal wrong to the negro, yet, because of its congenital lodgment in, and its ramification through, the whole fabric of southern society, was of necessity to be upheld in its legal *status* until such time as it might be gradually and quietly displaced. On the contrary, Johnson, like the poor white he represented, was troubled with no compunctions of conscience concerning the rightfulness of holding a negro in bondage. He had come to be a slaveholder himself on a small scale and, as he always plead, by the toil of his own hands; yet he still shared the views on this subject of the non-slave holding class which regarded the negroes as a race inferior to its own, specially fitted by nature for slavery and themselves content with that condition. The non-slaveholding whites looked upon negro slavery from a standpoint the reverse of sentimental. Between them and the blacks there was no room for even that reciprocal affection so often springing up between master and slave. In its stead, there existed a reciprocal contempt. The non-slaveholder despised the negro as a slave; the negro despised the non-slaveholder as too poor to buy him. To the non-slaveholders, African slavery was simply an institution interwoven with the social structure in which

they were born, regulated like any other by the laws of their state, protected by the constitution of the United States, identified with the material prosperity of the section in which they lived, and without any moral quality whatever. Somehow it had come to be the subject of attacks by a set of furious fanatics of the North who seemed bent on stirring up slave insurrections in the South and on that account, were regarded with peculiar detestation. Untouched by pity for its victims and devoid of the scruples engendered by modern humanitarianism, they simply acquiesced in a system of labor long established by law and tradition, and saw no reason why their southern neighbors should not be suffered to go to the common territory of the Union and take their slaves along with them. The Kansas-Nebraska Act was considered a fair enough solution of the question; and, unaffected by the philanthropic sentiments surging in the breasts of the Northern people, they had no hesitation in standing by their section and its peculiar institution. And, it is hardly necessary to add, their opinions and inclinations in this respect were accurately reflected by their junior senator.

But, on the other hand, so unemotional a toleration was a very different feeling from the passionate attachment which a combination of interest, state pride and sectional antagonism had kindled in the bosoms of the slaveowners on a large scale. Johnson and his constituents were as far from partaking of the sensitiveness of the votaries of King Cotton on behalf of the peculiar institution, as they were from sympathizing with the enthusiasm of the preachers of the rights of the black man. In fact, they found frequent occasion to regard the system of slave labor with dislike, as the chief prop of the landed aristocracy under whose rule they were often discontented and sometimes in open revolt. To state their position in brief; upon issues concerning the institution of slavery arising between the non-slaveholding

and the slaveholding sections of the Union, such men as Andrew Johnson felt no difficulty, either of principle or conscience, in siding with their own; but, upon issues arising between slaveholders and themselves in their own communities incidentally affecting the stability of that institution, they cared little or nothing for its fate.

This peculiar two-fold state of mind finds further ample illustration in Johnson's career as senator. His Homestead Bill—that darling project so perseveringly pressed in the House—he did not neglect now that he had risen to the Senate. It encountered so much opposition, especially from the South, that it was postponed from one session to another, from one Congress to another, and, finally, after he had at last effected its passage, was vetoed by the President. In his first speech on this bill in the Senate, he took notice of a remark of Senator Hammond of South Carolina, addressed to the Northern people, which spread such intense exasperation in that quarter; viz: That the "menial class constitutes the very mudsill of society and political government," "the man who lives by his daily labor," "your whole hireling class of manual laborers and 'operatives,' as you call them, are essentially slaves."

Such a doctrine as this, although hardly distinguishable from Johnson's own "philosophy of slavery," quoted above, in its present connection touched him too near home; and he accordingly took the stately senator to task as follows:

"Will it do to assume that the man who labors with his hands, every man who is an operative in a manufacturing establishment or a shop, is a slave? No, sir; that will not do. Will it do to assume that every man who does not own slaves, but has to live by his own labor, is a slave? That will not do. If this were true, it would be very unfortunate for a good many of us, and especially so for me. I am a laborer with my own hands, and I never considered myself a slave, in the acceptance of the term slave in the South. I do own some; I made them by my industry, by the labor of my hands. In that sense of the term I should have been a slave while I was earning them with the labor of my hands."

"The argument cuts at both ends of the line, and these kind of doctrines do us infinite harm in the South. There are operatives there;

there are laborers there; there are mechanics there. Are they slaves? Who is it in the South that gives us title and security to the institution of slavery?" * *

"The operatives in South Carolina are 68,549. Now take the 25,000 slave-owners out, and a large proportion of the people of South Carolina work with their hands. Will it 'do to assume that in the State of South Carolina, the State of Tennessee, the State of Alabama and the other slave-holding States, all those who do not own slaves are slaves themselves?"

In his speech on the John Brown raid (in 1859) he pays his respects to Seward's famous enunciation:

"The doctrine here proclaimed" (as he perhaps too hastily assumes) "is an irrepressible conflict between slave labor and free labor.

It is a mistaken application of an old principle to an improper case. There is a conflict always going on between capital and labor; but there is not a conflict between two kinds of labor. * *

Labor is always trying to get as much capital for labor as it can; on the other hand capital is always trying to get as much labor for capital as it can. * *

Is the slave who is cultivating the rice fields in South Carolina, is the slave who is following the plow in the rich and fertile plains of Mississippi, in competition with the man who is making boots and shoes in New York and Massachusetts? * *

In stead of there being an irrepressible conflict between slave labor and free labor, I say the argument is clear and conclusive that the one mutually benefits the other; that slave labor is a great help and aid to free labor as well as free labor to slave labor. * *

Capital at the North is the oppression of the laboring man. There is where the oppression is; there is where the irrepressible conflict exists. It is between the dollars and cents of the North and the free labor of the North, not between slave labor and free labor. * *

The reason why Great Britain is so deeply interested in the abolition of slavery in the United States is plain. Her capital exists in money and stocks, as the capital of the non-slaveholding States does. Capital in Great Britain is arrayed against oppressed and downtrodden free labor. In the United States, what do they behold? Three thousand two hundred million dollars invested in labor. Put the four million slaves of the South at $800 apiece, and the result is $3,200,000,000 invested in labor. Do you not see that that amount of capital is identified with labor, trying to extort from the moneyed capital of the world high prices for the product of that labor? If Great Britain could succeed in diverting the investment or abolishing it altogether, what would she do? Suppose that $3,200,000,000 should go into dollars and cents, do you not see that those who own the capital would take sides with Great Britain, sustaining the moneyed aristocracy of the world against free labor, and extorting it at the lowest prices possible?"

He gives a table presenting a comparative view of the wages of workmen and mechanics in the slaveholding and non-slaveholding states, carefully compiled by a St. Louis editor, claiming that "it shows that, not only in theory, but in fact, is the slaveholder the best friend of free labor."

Later in the same session, in correcting a statement that he had said the planters in Tennessee, in 1858, were on the point of driving all the slaves out of the state, he spoke for the non-slaveholders of the South as follows:

"I say that if the day ever does come when the effort is made to emancipate the slaves, to abolish slavery and turn them loose on the country, the non-slaveholder of the South will be the first man to unite with the slaveholder to reduce them to subjugation again; and if one would be more ready to do so than the other it would be the non-slaveholder. And that if their resistance to subjugation were obstinate and stubborn, the non-slaveholder would unite with the slaveholder, and all this abolition sympathy, when pressed to its ultimatum, would result in the extirpation of the negro race."

(Continued.)

PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON AND SENATOR JAMES ROOD DOOLITTLE.

By Duane Mowry, Milwaukee, Wis.

In reading the "Life" of President Johnson prepared by his townsman, the Rev. James S. Jones, I have been induced to ask myself if historians and biographers, like republics, are sometimes ungrateful? Or is the absence of what appears to be "the truth of history" and exact justice to the individual, the result of thoughtfulness, the want of a proper historical perspective, or excessive admiration for the principal character which engages the interest and energy of the historian's pen? It is not easy to give a comprehensive answer to the questions propounded. And I am not intending to do so now. But the following paragraph in the Rev. Mr. Jones' biography, which, I doubt not, will be generally regarded as excellent, has attracted my attention, and I cannot escape the conviction that it is not the whole "truth of history," and, by omitting the name of Senator Doolittle from the list of senators who opposed the impeachment of Mr. Johnson, fails to do him that justice which the facts and the record warrant.

The paragraph referred to is found on page 278. The author, in discussing the failure of the Congress to impeach the President, begins a new paragraph with this language: "Of the fifty-four senators voting on this momentous issue, seven received more public notice than did all the rest. These were Senators Ross, of Kansas; Fowler, of Tennessee; Fessenden, of Maine; Trumbull, of Illinois; Grimes, of Iowa; Henderson, of Missouri; and Van Winkle of West Virginia. These seven Republican sena-

tors were impaled upon the pens of a violent party and sectional press, and held up to the contempt of the opposers of the Administration."

Why was Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, not included in the above list? He had been elected to the Senate as a Republican and had opposed impeachment with both his voice and vote. And he was most certainly "impaled upon the pens of a violent party and sectional press, and held up to the contempt of the opposers of the Administration." More than that was his portion from his constituents. The Legislature of Wisconsin actually passed resolutions denouncing his support of President Johnson and his policy, and demanded his resignation as a Senator. These resolutions were subsequently presented in the Senate by his colleague, Senator Timothy O. Howe, and were thereafter made the subject for a personal explanation and vindication by Judge Doolittle on the floor of the Senate. And most powerfully and eloquently did he justify his course and put his political traducers on the defensive.

As I have always understood that Senator Doolittle was regarded as one of President Johnson's most trusted and influential advisers and friends, both in the Congress and at the White House, this apparent omission of proper recognition of the great commoner, in the only authentic "Life" of his superior officer extant, seems quite unaccountable to me. It does not impress one who has had the opportunity to examine much of the personal correspondence and private papers of Judge Doolittle, as doing justice to the memory of a publicist preëminent in his time, in power, in character and in positive influence.

The following letter from President Johnson to Judge Doolittle, found among Mr. Doolittle's private papers, tends to establish the intimate relations and good feeling existing between the two:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 26th, 1865.*

Hon. J. R. Doolittle,
U. S. Senator, Racine,
Wisconsin.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23d instant. I thank you for the suggestions and kind expressions of confidence therein contained. Anything that can consistently be done to comply with your wishes in reference to the appointments requested by you, I assure you will be done.

I am, Very truly yours,
ANDREW JOHNSON.

President Johnson's letter, while actually saying little of historical consequence, emphasizes the manifest cordial relations existing between himself and Senator Doolittle. That, too, is the generally accepted understanding of all persons who are at all familiar with the events of the reconstruction period of our national existence. It is almost as well understood that no public man of the period mentioned, was made to suffer more at the hands of his constituents for what was charged against him as his political apostasy, but which was, in fact, his patriotic policy of pacification toward the stricken South, than was the late ex-Senator James R. Doolittle. Naturally, therefore, one who has had an opportunity to see something of the personal side of the great publicist, would feel constrained to dissent from the conclusions of the historian which are implied by silence, when discussing a particular historical event, an event, too, in which Judge Doolittle formed a prominent and important part.

GENERAL JOSEPH MARTIN AND THE CHEROKEES.

(Continued from November, 1904, but concluded in this issue. As usual, summaries and bracketed matter by the Editors.)

Martin to Campbell About the Chicomagga and Cherokee Indians.

Battle Ground, near Long Island, Sept. 18th, '82.

Dear Colonel—

I this moment returned from the towns, & have the pleasure to inform you that the Chicomagga Indians have given up all the prisoners except three, which could by no means be got to Chota by the day appointed; but they promise to bring them in very shortly. I believe that never were people more desirous of peace than the Cherokees; but I hear the forces from this State are now starting. I shall set off this evening to see Col. Sevier. Col. Hardin went with me to the Towns, & got his son who was a prisoner. He thinks peace by all means is best. If opportunity offers, please write to the Governor & inform him what I am doing. I should write much more to you, but I have no ink—am forced to make use of gun powder.

Your most obt. Servt.,

Jos. Martin.

To Colonel Campbell.

Martin to Henry About Lands in Tennessee.

Smiths river ye 21 May 1733

Sir

I am now on my way to holdson wheare I shall make myself acquainted with every valuable place on that River

thats to take up the office is opened as far as the french Broad River from thence Down the Northside to chicamagga from thence across the Tennessee to the Mississippi without Takeing any notice of those that has settled over the Old Indian Boundary—the Island ceeded to the Indians the Governor Impowed to Treat for the other Lands no entry to be made before ye 20th Day of October next the special certificates to be taken ten pounds pr hundred. could you get some safe hand to Go over to the Carolina line I make no Doubt but you can have any quantity purchased at a moderate when I first went to hillsborough certificates could been purchased for Two Shillings prock pr. pounds I have Just given you amemorandom of what has been Done on opening the land office you can pursue what measures you think best between now & october —— ———— The commissioners for laying off the officers and soldiers lands made their report at the assemble they say on Trying the latitude in that country find that all the lant of Tenesse is in Georgia they say it is the finest country on the contenant & being so far from Georgia & several Indian nations between it is thought policy to purchase the s^d lands from the Indians Genl Caswell with three other Gent^n have agreed to Join with Colo Donaldson & myself in s^d purchase they furnish the goods Donaldson & Myself are to make the purchase the whole Jointly concerned & intend to Take possession Immediately leting the same out on such reasonable Terms as will make that part so strong in a short time that they cannot be ousted if you should after consideration incline to be an adventurer in that scheme you will please to let me hear from you as soon as possible the lands on holdson shall most certainly attend to

I am with Great Respect
your humble & most
Jos. Martin.

To Patrick Henry, Richmond. Favored by Colo. Harston.

MARTIN AND DONELSON TO GOVERNOR OF VA. ABOUT MAKING TREATY WITH INDIANS.

[Abstract printed p. 548, Vol. 3, Cal. Va. State Papers.]

Long Island, December 16th, 1783.

Sir:

After a long fatigue we returned to this place from the westward last evening, & knowing it to be our duty to inform your Excellency as early as possible what progress we had made in Indian affairs, which trust your Excellency had deposited in us.

Agreeable to Maj. John Reids appointment, we met the Red King of the Chickasaws nation, & his chief warriors, at the French Lick on Cumberland river; & when met in treaty, we have the pleasure to inform your Excellency we found them altogether for peace with the American States, and did conclude a firm treaty on the principals of friendship & justice. The papers relative thereto we shall forward to you as soon as they can be put in order for your Excellency's inspection.

We ought to have first informed you that we had an appointment with the Chicamaggas, agreeable to the commission & instructions we were honored with. We found them well inclined for peace with us. In which treaty the chiefs of Chota & other peacible towns did assist to make themselves 'sponsable. The Creeks did not appear according to expectation, & we fear are for war. A small town of the Dellaways who live on the Tennessee in the Chickasaws country refused or neglected to come into the treaty. The Red King of the Chickasaws says he will drive them out of the country, or compel them to treat with us.

We are also informed by the King of the Chickasaws that some traders from the Spanish dominion on the Mississippi have come up to the Tennessee river as far as the mouth of Bear Creek and are making houses of reception

for their goods; & that they are using all such prevailing arguments with the Indians to secure the minds of the people against the interest of the United States. Whether it would not be advisable to make further inquiry into the real intentions of those traders before they make too deep impressions into the minds of the Indians, or otherwise we shall leave it to your Excellency's determination.

By favor of Major Walls, commanding officer at Fort Nelson, we sent an express to the Showneys, requesting them to meet at the Falls of Ohio, at which time & place we attended, & found a letter from that nation informing us that their principal chiefs were gone to a treaty at the Falls of Niagara. It seems they expressed every willingness for a peace with those States.

We must also beg leave to fulfill a promise we are under to the King of the Chickasaws—which is, that a certain Captain Dodge at the Illinois did send a message to their nation that he could secure the interest of the Kickapoosi nation of Indians to go to war against them; & that he had a quantity of goods to employ them for that purpose, which the King says is quite opposite to our pretentions, & wishes government to put a stop to those intermeddling threats made by a man whom we do not know has any such directions from your Excellency. We shall not trouble you farther at this time, than only to assure you that we have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's
Most obt. & humble Servts.,
JOSEPH MARTIN,
JOHN DONELSON.

To the Governor of Virginia.

MARTIN TO HENRY ABOUT TREATY WITH CHICKASAWS.

Augusta, 5th February 1786.

Sir,

The Commissioners of Congress Finished their treatees with the Chickasaws Indians the 15th of Last Month, tho

could not Settle all their accounts without meeting at this place—I take the earliest opportunity of Transmitting their proceedings to your Excellency—Have also Inclosed a Spanish Commission—the Choctaws had a number of them with Spanish Medals—which they were very desirous to exchange for Virginia Medals, a few of which I could precure but the Commissioners would by no Means agree to it —Saying it would be Establishing the arms of Virginia in the Nation in place of the United States. The Person who is to be the bearer of this Moment inform[d] Me that he was Setting out for Virginia and will not agree to wait more than two hours that I can not send the papers in such dress as I could wish—which I Hope your Excellency will excuse I have not the treaties by me otherwise would send them on—tho they are Similar to the Cherokee treaty—Which I sent on in December—

Only with the addition that the Choctaws Have given up the United States three trading posts where they shall Think most proper—Six miles Square each—the Chickasaws—one five Miles opposite to the bent of Tennessee—I intended to start on Monday in pursuit of Some Cherokee prisoners which are in North Carolina and return them to their people—Shall then take a tower through the Cherokee Country—and transmit every occurrency to your

Excellency as soon as possible

With Respect I have the

Honor to be your Excellency

His Excellency Most Hum[b.] & Most ob[d.] Servant

Patrick Henry. Jos. Martin.

Martin to Henry on Kentucky Affairs.

[Already printed in full, pp. 151-2, Vol. 4, Cal. Va. State Papers.]

Smiths River, of 25th June, 1786.

Sir:

I have enclosed your Excellency a letter from Auther Campbell, also one from Wm. How, which contain greatest

part of intelligence from the Westward—with some additions from James Parberry, who returned last evening from Kentucky. He informs me that a Mr Ewing whom I am well acquainted with, and believe to be a man of veracity, over took him on New River, directly from Cumberland, & said that several days before he left Cumberland, a Cherokee half breed came into the French Lick, and informed that there were a large number of Creeks embodied near the Bent of Tennessee, and had laid in a stock of provisions there, & were determined to cut off that quarter; that advance parties had actually arrived there before he left it. He further says, that another company came in before he left New River, who informed that the main body of Creeks arrived within a few days after Mr. Ewing left Cumberland; that they brought cannon with them and cannonaded the forts several days; that the settlers at length turned out and fought them, that several hundred were killed and forced to retreat into the garrison.* Mr. Parberry says the Indians have done a great deal of mischief on all the frontiers in the Kentucky country, that it is certain that the Shawanees have joined the other Indians.

I am truly distressed on account of the poor settlers in Powells Valley. I had positive orders from Governor Harrison to settle that Station, who promised them protection; and without immediate aid, I fear they will all be cut off. * * *

To Governor Henry. JOS. MARTIN.

MARTIN TO HENRY ON CHEROKEE INDIANS.

[Printed in full, p. 162, Vol. 4, Cal. Va. State Papers.]

Holston, Aug. 7th, 1786.

Sir:

In my absence from the Long Island, some Cherokee Indians killed two white men; a number of men from the

*This is all error.—L. C. D.

State of Franklin have pushed into their towns, to demand, as they say, the murderers, when one man could do that business. Should they make a stand on these people, your Excellency will know what a situation the people in Powell's Valley and on Chinch will be in.

By the time I arrive at the Long Island, which will be tomorrow, I hope I shall have some certain accounts; if anything unfavorable, I will send and express. In the interim I will endeavor to stand fast at Powell's Valley.

The Chiefs of the Cherokees have offered to deliver up the murderers, but must have some time to do it, in which time they would give up any number of hostages.

As it will be absolutely necessary to have a meeting with the Indians immediately, I beg you will order me a hogshead of good rum on my own account—I will not ask it on the public's.

I am, &c.,

JOS. MARTIN.

To Gov. Henry.

MARTIN TO HENRY ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Smiths river ye 20th Jan^r 1787

(Dear Sir)

I returned from Feattsville ye 10th Instant & all that I was able To Do for the Indians was to have a Resolve passt, Directing the Governor to Issue his proclamation ordering all the people off their lands that have settled South of French broad river which will not answer the purpose.

I wrote to Govenor Harrison by Colo Marston for the meddles promised the Cherokees & Chickasaws but recd no answer from him, I set out ye 13th of next month to the nation am sorry to Go without them as the Indians Expect them by me.

I recd a letter from you by Mr. Andrews tho have heard

nothing of the letter you mentioned by Ford by a letter from Govenor Telfair of Georgia to Genl. Savier we are informed that the Legeslature of Georgia have confirmed our Title to the Bent of Tennessee Colo Glasgow the Secretary of State of North Carolina has Gone on to the assemble of Georgia which is now about to sett to have the necessary Conveyances made.

I Expect to hear from them as soon as it rises by my son William who is a member and will Take care to Transmit Every thing that Respects the Bent to me Immediately.

I am sent for by the Chickasaw Indians To come Down Early in the Spring but mention nothing of their business—tho by what I can find out by the Cherokees its in Consequence of some preposials made by the Spaniards to them Respecting Trade.

I propose seting out in april next

I find that Congress have appointed Porter white to Superintend the Southern Indians he waited on the assemble of North Carolina tho they seemed to pay little Respect to contenantal measures. He seemed rather to decline the business & offered himself as a Candedate in the Delegation to Congress & was elected tho Told me he would Go on to the Creek nation and Do some Business & be Back in Time to Take a seat in Congress Colo Ben^e Hawkins who was one of the Continental Commissioners & now a Delegate in Congress informs me that nothing was wanting on my part to be appointed but a Recommendation from Virginia, that if you would write to Some of the Dilagates, he on the part of North Carolina would settle the Business.

In the latter End of Session Some of the members was about to enter a protest against the Continental Commissioners in very Ill natured Language notwithstanding a Committee on that Subject had Reported, which the others thought was Too favourable.

The perpert of the protest was that the Commissioner

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had actually Given up to the Indians lands that North Carolina had purchased of S^{d} Indians that in consequence of s^{d} Treaty the Indians have been more Desperate than before even if I could Get So far in your favour to write a True State of the Case To Congress in my name you will Lay me under lasting obligations

What I want Congress to Know is that in July 1777 Virginia & North Carolina jointly treated with the Cherokee Indians agreeable to Instructions given to Commissioner by the Legislature of Both States for that purpose who Entered into solemn Treaty with S^{d} Indians wherein the faith of both states was pledged, they fixt the Boundaries which are agreeable to the Boundaries fixt or Rather Renewed by the Contenantal Commissioners which is all the Treaty that has ever been held with that people since only one by order of Genl Green in behalf of the united States when the same Bounds was mentioned the Commissioners was from Virginia & North Carolina.

North Carolina when she opened her land office in 1783 agreed to give the Indians lb 2500 worth of goods & Directed me to give the Indians notice and to Lay in provisions for the Treaty but before the Treaty Commenced the legislature ceded the lands north of the apelatchean mountains to Congress & stopt the Treaty and the Goods I can assure Congress that North Carolina has never Treated for any lands since 1777 her own commissioners fixt the line from the mouth of Clouds Creek south & the Virginia Commissioners from the mouth of sd creek north as far as Cumberland mountains tho north Carolina is about to say in the protest that the Contenantal commissioners has given up to the Indians lands that North Carolina had purchased of s^{d} Indians which is notoriously faulse I speak with Confidence because I have the original Treaties now by me

I must ask your pardon for this Request but I am anxious that Congress should know the facts

I should be glad you would let me Know whether you will part with that little spott of land at the ford of the river & what you will ask for Ten acres there I will endeavor to make out payment Immediately in either Cash or Tobacco

If Georgia have confirmed our Title to the Bent I shall proceed on another speculation in lands which I think will be the Greatest that ever will be in america on the waters of Tombigby & mobeal I shall endeavor to locate the lands from the Spanish Line north I have lately fell in with a Mr. Hackett who is a man of character he is lately from there and will Return there with me he gives it a wonderful character, he says as far as the Spanards claim is thick settled with americans under Spanish government the country well watered and healthy well a Dapted for Tobacco he Tells me that they Get eight Dollars pr hundred for their Tobacco by carrying of it 20 miles by water from the many kindnesses I have recd from you I should be exceeding happy if I could be of any service to you in that or any other way, the lands lie in Georgia, the bent I hope is secure any part of that is at your service on the same terms I Get it which is very light tho I fear South Carolinia will run into the bent tho much Depends on the Federal Cort which I expect will be lodged in Philad about the time you will be there if the Keywee river is the line between the two states all will be well

I am with very Great respect your most ob^t^ Servt

Jos. Martin.

Johnston to Martin on Providing Troops.

Hillsborough 29th July 1788

Brigadier General Martin.

You are to order a sufficient number of the militia of the District of Washington to aid and assist the Sheriff of any

County in the said District, in execution of any Warrant or Warrants for the apprehending of any person or persons, who have been guilty of Treasonable practices against the State and furnish such sheriff with a sufficient guard or escort, to enable him to convey such prisoners to the place of their Destination.

SAM JOHNSTON

MARTIN TO HIS SON ON FAMILY MATTERS.

Henry ye 2d April 1802—

My Son

This leaves Myself and familey in perfect health also all friends Except Mr Anthony who has been very bad with Lax (?) that has Spread, thro this neighborhood, he is much mended Mr Stokes is Still alive, Tho cannot calculate on his living many days—we have little news in this quarter more than the newspapers. inform you Henry Clark offers this year to Represent the county—in your last letter to me you mention that Jacob Burrus had Got out Safe &c but said nothing about your health, I have That greatly at hart. you mentioned nothing about Daniel Hammack nor his familey Wm Cleveland and your Sister famely &c arrived from Georgia in the beginning of march all well. They appear well Satisfyed. at which I Greatly Rejoice your Brother Brice has Gone to Albemarle—on my way to Richmond last winter I called on your Grand father. who I found in a low state of health tho as perfect in his Reason as I believe he ever was—I was received with Great Joy by the whole connection. my object was to enquire into the old Gentleman will—which I found very Different from what I had heard—he has left you one hundred pounds also all your Mother's Children. The same is also given me the Same which is more than I deserved or expected—your aunt Waller appears well pleased with her new home your

aunt Edwards, will move out to Leatherwood this fall two of her Sons. are now living on the place making a Crop Ready for their father's famely—this is all about your Relations—now for something for myself. I have Just Received from a Certain William Hereford. who has once been with me to purchase the land I live on, he writes me that he Will Give me £1350, provided I will take 640 acres of land on Spencers Creek, near the mouth of Stones River Located by John well known to Judge Jackson whose hands the patent is now in either of the Two can give information Respecting sd land, if you could with convenience See the land Immediately and enquire into the title and know of Jackson what he thinks it is worth, also your opinion and send by post or otherwise if we trade Judge Jackson is to fix the price. Nothing but that unlucky affair of Kenan [(?) Henan (?)] & Ramseys, would Induce me to move being much Better Settled than I ever can be aGain, but cannot bare the thoughts of being, cast into prison or stript of all property & perhaps both Except Land; The place on my neck Grows fast but with very little pain—your Brother was very near offering his *Service* to the county if he had I believe he would not have lost fifty votes in the county. my love to Frankey and your children also Jacob Burrus & his familey Daniel Hammack. and his family &c I hope They will excuse me for not writing, to them as this contains, all I could Say to them My old Horse porto is dead I am badly off for work horses must Request that if opertunity offers. by any person traviling to this country to send them unless the mares or either of them Should have colts in that case I would Rather they would Stay until the fall, my horses that went to Georgia, will be of very little Service this Summer.

Farewell my Dear child

Your fond Father

JOS. MARTIN.

MEIGS TO SECRETARY OF WAR ON PURCHASE OF CHEROKEE LANDS.

South West Point, 1st Oct., 1803.

Sir,

On the 29th June 1802, I addressed you at the request of the Cherokee Chiefs on the subject of selling the Long Island of Holston, for the benefit of the Cherokee Nation. By the treaty of Holston in 1791—Governor Blount, Commissioner on the part of the United States—by the 4th articles they relinquished all their lands to the right of the line; running from the Currabee Mountain to the River Clinch. This of course included a relinquishment of the Island mentioned. But they say the Island was intended to be reserved for them, and that Col. Joseph Martin, of Virginia, was requested to keep it for them. Perhaps Colº. Martin's testimony would clear up the doubts about the relinquishment of the Island. They declared that the Island is theirs; and, as they are now so remote from it, they wish it sold for cash in behalf of the nation.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Yr. obed. Ser.

RETURN J. MEIGS.

To the Honble.
& the Secretary
of War.

DEPOSITION OF ALEXANDER, SKETCH OF HIS INDIAN SERVICE.

The Deposition of Wm. Alexander. ....

* * * That he was born on the 15 day of April 1752, in the County of Cumberland & State of Virginia; the record of which is entered in a family Bible at that time belonging to his Grand Father by whom he was raised—He

resided in the said County of Cumberland until he was 23 years of age when he removed to the County of Pittsylvania in the same State, when he settled and lived until the year 1818 when he removed to the county of Rockingham N. C. and then lived until the fall of 1822 when he removed to Wilkes County N. C. where he has lived ever since, and where he now lives. In the month of June 1776 this deponent entered the service of the United States in the County of Pittsylvania Virginia as a volunteer for six months, in a company of Malitia commanded by Captain Joseph Martin, and rendezvoued at Elleott's old Store in the said county, and marched from thence direct to the Long Islands of Holstein, where they joined the troops under command of Col. Christee or Christian after being stationed at the Long Islands of Holstein for about six weeks, during which time other troops were collecting—and those that were there were engaged in the erection of a Fort, they marched to the lower Towns of the Cherokee nation of Indians—Upon arriving at the Towns they found them abandoned by the Indians, but after remaining there some days a considerable number of the Indians came in and sued for peace, and surrendered themselves. Those that came in and offered terms of peace were unmolested, and a proposition made and acceded to that a treaty should be formed in compliance with the terms proposed, at the Long Islands of Holstein, in the ensuing Spring, but the Towns of those who refused to surrender or sue for peace, were entirely destroyed together with all their cows, Stock, and other property and committing such depredations upon them as they could, the Troops returned to the Long Islands of Holstein, where they remained some time and then set out for home. This deponent however was selected by request to take charge of one of his mess mates, who was sick, and was sent on ahead of the company a few days, and arrived at home a day or two before Christmas. The

rest of the company not arriving however until a few days after Christmas, as soon as all the company reached home they received discharges from Captain Martin. * * *

[Copy in *Draper Collection* from original in Pension Office.—S. M. L. W.]

RAMSEY TO DRAPER ON ONE OF MARTIN'S CAMPAIGNS.

Mecklenburg May 29, 1825.

My Dear Sir

I appreciate very highly your favor of 18th int. & still more highly your strict regard to Historical acuracy—We agree fully that Martin took no campaign in Feb. 1781—there is no authority for it but Haywood—nor that Isac Shelby accompanied the expedition of Nov. 80 & Janry. 1781. I have the Shelby papers & there is no mention of that service by him.—(I say *Nov.*—because I have the proceedings of the officers who projected it—will copy it & inclose to you herein)—The testimony you adduce is more than sufficient to counterballance that of Haywood & narratives in my possession going to prove *two* campaigns & *two* battles on Boyds Creek. Like that of Gist & Pearson as cited by you they must have taken 1779 for 1780—I am nearly satisfied that it is so—tho—some of my narratives have the battle at Cedar Spring—others the Blue Spring—one 3 miles from mouth of the Creek—the other near its source. Still I think you are right. * * * * * *

Your sincere friend.

J. G. M. RAMSEY.

[To Lyman C. Draper]

(Concluded.)

THE FAMILY OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

By General Marcus J. Wright.

Washington, D. C.

Some twenty odd years ago, I was on a visit to London, and went one morning with the Rev. Frederick Harford, a minor canon of Westminster Abbey, on a visit to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Mr. Benson) to whom I had letters of introduction from several Bishops of the Episcopal church in the United States.

There were as usual a number of English clergymen at Lambeth Palace on visits of business or ceremony to the Archbishop. While I was sitting in the library, I chanced to see Rev. Mr. Harford in conversation with a gentleman in clerical attire, whose face seemed to remind me of either some person or picture which I had seen, and when he returned to me I enquired who the person was. He informed me that it was the Reverend Mr. Arnold, a grandson of General Benedict Arnold. This of course quite interested me, and on Mr. Harford's suggestion I called at his residence in Dean's Yard, Westminster Abbey, that evening and heard from him the following account of the family of Benedict Arnold.

The person whom I saw was the Rev. Edwin Gladwin Arnold, of Little Missenden Abbey, and Mr. Harford gave me this account, as derived from the family:

Benedict Arnold married Margaret, daughter of Judge Edward Shippen, of Philadelphia, and on his death left five children. They were Edward Shippen, James Robertson, George, William Fitch and Sophia Matilda. Edward Shippen Arnold became a lieutenant in the Sixth Bengal Cavalry, of the British Army, and Paymaster at Muttra, India. He died in 1813 at Singapore. James Robertson Arnold became a lieutenant-general in the British Army,

and married Virginia, daughter of Bartlett Goodnick, Esq., of Saling Grove, Essex. He died in 1834, and his wife died in 1852. George Arnold was lieutenant colonel of the Second Bengal Cavalry and married Anne Brown. He died in India in 1828.

The only one of Benedict Arnold's sons who left issue was William Fitch Arnold. He was also an officer in the British Army, being a captain in the Nineteenth Lancers. He married in 1819 Elizabeth Cecelia, only daughter of Alexander Ruddoch, of the Island of Tobago, a captain in the Royal Navy. Captain Arnold died in 1846. He left six children: Edwin Gladwin, William Trail, Margaret Stewart, Elizabeth Sophia, Georgianna Phipps and Louisa Russell. The second son, Wm. Trail Arnold, was a soldier and became a captain in the famous fourth regiment of the British line and was killed at Sevastopol in the Crimean War.

All of Capt. William Fitch Arnold's daughters married clergymen of the Church of England. Margaret was married to the Rev. Robert H. Rogers, Elizabeth to the Rev. Bryant Burgess, Georgiana to the Rev. John Stephenson, and Louisa to Rev. G. Cecil Rogers.

Edwin Gladwin Arnold, the first son of Capt. William Fitch Arnold, was the only one of his children who continued the name. He is (or was) a clergyman of the Church of England, and when I saw him was said to be seventy years of age and Rector of Barron in Cheshire. He married in 1852 Charlotte Georgiana, eldest daughter of Lord Henry Cholmondeley, son of the Marquis of Cholmondeley. Nine children have been born to him: Edward Cholmondeley; William Henry, an officer in the Royal Navy; Charles Louther; Henry Abel; Arthur Seymour; Herbert Tollemache; Maria Elizabeth; Emma Charlotte; Georgiana and Mabel Caroline Frances. The Rev. Edwin Gladwin Arnold by inheritance owns the Canadian possessions granted to his traitorous grandfather by the British government.

Benedict Arnold's only daughter, Sophia Matilda, married Col Powell Phipps of the British East India Army. He was related to the Earl of Mulgrave. She died in 1828.

The estate and seat of the Arnold family is Little Missenden Abbey, Buckinghamshire, an old estate that belonged to the Church before the reformation.

Mr. Harford told me the following which he heard from some of the Arnold family: General Arnold had met (Doctor) General Warren who was killed at Bunker Hill, and had formed a strong attachment for him. After Warren's death it was found that he left no means for the support and education of his four children.

Arnold became interested in the matter and brought it to the attention of the Continental Congress, which however did not result in any action. He then wrote to Mercy Schollay who was in charge of the children, their mother having died some time before. Arnold though at that time poor sent an order for five hundred dollars with instructions that he should be drawn upon for more when it was needed.

He then wrote to Samuel Adams and John Hancock asking that they take steps to have the Congress take action, to aid the children Elizabeth, Joseph, Mary and Richard Warren. In sending some more money Arnold wrote "send Richard who is now old enough, to the best school that can be found, clothe him handsomely, give him all that he needs, and call on me for any future expense."

In one of his letters written to Miss Schollay before his act of treason, he writes: "A country should be ever grateful to the patriot who lays down his life in its defense, 'greater love hath no man than this,'" Strange that letter was received just as Arnold began his negotiations with Gen. Clinton.

Arnold lived for a long time in St. Johns, New Brunswick. He engaged there in mercantile pursuits sending out trading vessels to the West Indies.

DOCUMENTS ON THE MEXICAN WAR.

[Col. George A. Porterfield, one of the Vice Presidents of the Southern History Association, has a very valuable volume, the official order book of that division of the American Army which was stationed at and near Buena Vista, Mexico, from November, 1847, to the end of the war with Mexico, and of which Col. Porterfield was the Assistant Adjutant General. This division was commanded by Col. John Francis Hamtramck, Col. of the 1st Virginia Volunteers. He entered the Military Academy 26th Sept., 1815, and was an officer of the 3rd Artillery in 1821 resiging from the Army in 1822. His father, of exactly the same name, a native of Canada, served in the war of the Revolution from November, 1776, to 1785 and remained in the Army until his death in 1803, having attained the rank of Colonel.

As illustrating some of the incidents of the American army life on foreign soil some selections follow. Colonel Porterfield has presented the manuscript material to the Aztec Society of New York City.]

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
BRAZOS ISLAND, *Nov. 25, 1847.*

ORDER No. 132.

1....Major General Taylor, having received leave of absence from the War Department, relinquishes the command of the Army of Occupation. It devolves upon Brigadier General John E. Wool to whose Headquarters all commanders and the Chiefs of Staff Departments will in future make their reports.

2....It is with no ordinary regret that the General now takes leave of his command. A few veteran Companies of Dragoons and Artillery, have served under his eye on fields rendered illustrious by their gallantry and that of their comrades: Other Corps need but the opportunity to signalize their bravery and their discipline. To all, both officers and men of the line, and of the Staff Departments, the General would express his satisfaction with the present state of instruction and efficiency and his confidence that under the orders of the distinguished General who succeeds to the com-

mand, they will zealously maintain the interests and the honor of the country.

By Order of Major General Taylor.

(Signed) W. W. Bliss,
Asst. Adjt. Gen'l.

Official:

(Signed) Irvin McDowell,
Asst. Adjt. Gen'l.

Official:

(Signed) G. A. Porterfield,
A. A. A. G.

Headquarters Army of Occupation,
Monterey, *Dec. 10, 1847.*

Order No. 134.

The President of the United States has directed that a Court of Inquiry be instructed to investigate certain allegations and charges contained in a letter signed by John Ashton, Jr., George McKeim, John Davis and others, dated Phila., September 1847 in relation to a duel said to have taken place near China, Mexico, on or about the 20th of May 1847 between 2d. Lieutenants Carleton R. Mumford and Washington L. Mahan of the Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, which resulted in the death of the parties engaged and to which it is alleged, Captain Smith P. Bankhead John P. Young and 1st Lieutenant Thomas L. Garnett, all of the Virginia Volunteers were accessories.

A Court of Inquiry will therefore assemble at Buena Vista, Mexico, at 10 o'clock A. M., on the 16th inst. or as soon thereafter as practicable for the purpose referred to above.

The Court will report the facts and give an opinion on the merits of the case.

Detail for the Court:

Col. Charles Clarke, Mississippi Reg't. Vols.
Major U. S. Stokes, North Carolina Reg't.

Capt. R. M. Henry, North Carolina Reg't.

1st. Lieut. John F. Reynolds 3d. Regiment Artillery is appointed Judge Advocate.

By Command of Brig. Genl. Wool.

Irvin McDowell,
A. A. G.

Official:
G. A. Porterfield,
A. A. A. G.

Headquarters Army of Occupation,
Monterey, Mexico, *Dec. 17, 1847.*

Order No. 143.

The War on the part of the United States hitherto has been conducted towards the people of Mexico with great forbearance and moderation. Private property and the religious institutions of the Country have been held sacred, and those who remained neutral and abstained from taking up arms against us have been treated with kindness; whilst on several occasions we have not only fed their famishing soldiers, but bound up their wounds.

By a series of brilliant victories, one army after another has been defeated and dispersed and the Capitol of Mexico taken; and yet instead of levying contributions on the inhabitants for the support of our armies, we have continued to pay fair and even extravagant prices for whatever we have received from them; and what has been our return? Treachery and cruelty have done their worst against us. Our citizens and soldiers have been murdered and their bodies mutilated in cold blood, by bands of savages and cowardly guirrelleros, and the parole of honor, sacred in all civilized warfare, has been habitually forfeited by Mexican officers and soldiers.

Such infamous and nefarious conduct cannot be tolerated whilst it will afford us pleasure to extend protection to the

innocent and unoffending Mexican;—he that remains strictly neutral, and does not take up arms against the United States:—those who countenance or encourage directly or indirectly the Bandits who infest the country; and who are called guirrelleros, must be made to feel the evils of war. Individuals will be severely punished, and heavy contributions levied upon the inhabitants of all cities, towns, villages and Haciendas, which either harbour or furnish them with supplies, or which do not give information of their haunts or places of abode.

To carry out more effectually this order, the Alcalde and other authorities through out New Leon, Coahuila and that portion of Tamaulipa at present in the occupation of the troops of the United States, will forthwith organize police parties for the purpose of ferreting out, and bringing to the nearest American Military Post, for punishment all offending herein alluded to. On failing to do so, each and all will be held personally responsible for all damages done to either Americans, Mexicans or persons, whilst heavy contributions will be levied upon the inhabitants where the injury or damage may have been committed. Merchants, whether American, Mexican, Spaniard or of other nations, who may hereafter pay tribute to Canales, or any other person in command of Bandits or Guerrilleros parties to insure the safe transportation of their goods, or other property to any part of Mexico, will be identified with those parties and punished with the utmost severity; whilst their goods will be seized and confiscated for the United States.

Commandants of Districts or Posts belonging to the Army of Occupation, will forthwith adopt measures to have this order carried out promptly and to the fullest extent.

(Signed) JOHN E. WOOL,
Brigadier General,
Commanding.

OFFICIAL:
G. A. PORTERFIELD, *A. A. A. G.*

THE AMERICAN NEGRO ACADEMY.

By Prof. Walter L. Fleming, West Virginia University.

Since its organization in 1897 the *American Negro Academy* of Washington, D. C., has issued ten numbers of its *Occasional Papers,** as follows: 1. A Review of Hoffman's Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro, by Kelly Miller; 2. The Conservation of Races, by W. E. Burghardt DuBois; 3. Civilization the Primal Need of the Race, and The Attitude of the American Mind toward the Negro Intellect, by Alexander Crummell; 4. A Comparative Study of the Negro Problems, by Charles C. Cook; 5. How the Black St. Domingo Legion Saved the Patriot Army in the Siege of Savannah, 1779, by T. G. Steward; 6. The Disfranchisement of the Negro, by John L. Love; 7. Right on the Scaffold, or the Martyrs of 1822, by Archibald H. Grimke; 8. The Educated Negro and His Mission, by W. S. Scarborough; 9. The Early Negro Convention Movement, by John W. Cromwell; 10. The Defects of the Negro Church, by Orishatukeh Faduma.

The *Occasional Papers* are of value to all who are interested in the peculiar race problems of America. The writers represent, generally, that large class of educated negroes who hold that Booker T. Washington's gospel of work is not sufficient for the needs of the race. In these essays are set forth the negro's view of race problems as distinguished from the white man's view. Most well read whites are familiar with the doctrines of Tuskegee and Hampton, but it is necessary also to be informed by the other side. The

*The *Occasional Papers* are sold at the uniform price of 15 cents each, except the first number which sells for 25 cents. They may be obtained from the Secretary of the American Negro Academy, Washington, D. C.

writers in these monographs have no practical suggestions to offer, no expedient compromises to make, but demand theoretical and exact justice for the negro race, but what that justice may be is not clearly defined.

The general characteristics of the series may be noted as follows: (1) When slavery or anything connected with it is mentioned we hear the clank of chains and the cutting swish of the lash; the slaves, we infer, hate the whites with a consuming hatred, and the cruel masters endeavor to crush out the human feelings of the black; attempts at insurrections in which white women and children are to be massacred by wholesale are glorified. (2) There is not the slightest sign of an ability to understand why white people North and South usually consider that Reconstruction was a failure; there is the usual argument of the ballot as a protection, of the public school system being founded in Reconstruction, and of the Rights of Man. Consequently, the later disfranchising movement is believed to be only one manifestation of the peculiar meanness of the Southern people who are believed to be hostile to all that is good for the negro. (3) There is a marked tendency to minimize race distinctions, to treat color as a superficial matter, about equivalent to the difference between a Frenchman and a German. Consequently the white man's belief that there are fundamental differences between the races seems to be rejected. (4) In regard to negro education, it is contended that what is good for the white is good for the black, and hence there should not be one kind of training for the white and another for the black. The real meaning of the work of Armstrong and Washington is not understood. (5) The mental attitude of the whites in America is believed to be hostile to manifestations of intellect by negroes. There is undoubtedly much ignorance regarding negro ability especially as displayed in business enterprise, but no negro who poses as a race leader ought to complain of the recognition received. Many

a prominent negro would be considered merely ordinary as a white man.

Generally speaking the writers read lessons of hope from the past history of other races; they reject the doctrines of the modern sociologists; and foretell the final ruin of any people or nation that subjects other races. Platitudes and generalities are as common in these papers as in accounts by white men on the same subject. There is a marked self-conscious feeling, which is quite natural. It is manifested for instance in the use of "Mr." by certain of the writers, where a white man would never think of using it in speaking of the white race. There is much display of half assimilated learning and of a wide, but biased acquaintance, with history. The feeling displayed is in but few cases what is considered characteristic of the negro race; it is rather what white men under similar conditions would feel. The writers, trained in the learning of the white race and perhaps mixed in blood, have ceased to be "negroes" of the "negro problem" as usually understood and, in almost all respects save color and prospects, have become "white men," and are hence hardly representative of the black race. This is one of the saddest aspects of the "problem,"—it is really a new "problem."

To the historian the most interesting papers are Numbers 5, 7, 9 and 10. The one that shows the best race pride and race respect is that of Professor DuBois. The most practical paper is that on the Negro Church presumably written by a native of Africa. They are all valuable to show what the educated, theoretical, negro or mulatto thinks of the negro race and its difficulties. We do not get the impression that these men are doing as much practical work for the negro race as are Washington and Councill. And we shall probably still believe that the better teachings and the saner feeling and the more practical suggestions are found in "Up From Slavery."

REVIEWS.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY, MEMORIES, AND EXPERIENCES OF MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY. In two volumes. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1904. 451, 482 pp.

The time has not yet come when the South can sympathize entirely with men of the type of James G. Birney, Cassius M. Clay, and Moncure D. Conway, yet we must admire the moral courage which led them to sacrifice home and friends rather than stultify their consciences. Dr. Conway summarizes his career in the statement that he made a "pilgrimage from pro-slavery to anti-slavery enthusiasm, from Methodism to Free Thought." The connection between the two ideas is a most natural one. While the gospel of emancipation was being preached by Garrison, Phillips, Emerson, and May, all unorthodox in their religious views, the Trinitarian clergy refused to open their churches for anti-slavery meetings or to contribute in any way to their success [Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 58-59]. In other words, the abolition of slavery, like many other reforms of the nineteenth century, was a product of the rationalism of Voltaire, of Rousseau, of Bentham, of Mill.

Dr. Conway was born in Stafford County, Virginia, March 17, 1832. As the name indicates, he is related to three of the best known families in the Old Dominion. The suggestion that he inherited his views on the subjects of slavery and religion cannot of course be taken seriously. They were, in point of fact, the result of his education at Northern colleges, Dickinson and Harvard, at a time when abolitionism and Unitarianism were reaching their zenith. Leaving the Harvard Divinity School in 1854, he served for two years as pastor of the First Unitarian Church in Washington, and was then called to a Congregational

charge in Cincinnati. In 1863 he was sent abroad by a group of New England abolitionists to instruct the people of England on the issues of the war. Life in London seemed to please him, for he soon accepted the pastorate of a Universalist society which worshipped in South Place Chapel. Since then he has spent most of his years abroad. In addition to preaching and lecturing he has found time to write biographies of Hawthorne and Thomas Paine and several novels and magazine articles.

There are few men now living who have had a larger acquaintance with distinguished people than Dr. Conway. The student of literature will be interested in his version of the Froude-Carlyle controversy, of the theft of the Carlye-Emerson correspondence, of the authorship of the Saxe Holm (Helen Hunt Jackson) stories, and of scores of other questions which space forbids me to enumerate. To the historian one of the chief features of the book will be the account of Conway's correspondence with Senator Mason, the Confederate envoy to England in 1863. Conway informed Mason that he had authority from the leading anti-slavery men in America to make this proposition: If the so-called Confederate States would immediately and irrevocably emancipate their slaves, the anti-slavery leaders would withdraw all support from the United States government in the further prosecution of the war. Mason carried on a short correspondence with Conway and then published all of the letters in the *London Times*. The result might have been foreseen. The anti-slavery people in America repudiated Conway—in fact he cynically admits that he acted without consulting them and that it was a stragetical move. Mason was tactless enough to say in his second letter that the South would not accept such a proposition, however genuine it might be, a statement which the anti-slavery sympathizers seized upon as evidence that the real object of the South was to perpetuate slavery and not to defend

states' rights. The episode helped the United States government in its difficult task of convincing the Northern people that the war was being waged to save the union, and the English people that its object was the abolition of slavery.

W. Roy Smith.

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

A Belle of the Fifties. Memoirs of Mrs. Clay, of Alabama, covering Social and Political Life in Washington and the South. Gathered and edited by Ada Sterling. Cloth, octavo, pp. xxii+386. Price, $1.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1904.

Mrs. Clay, *nee* Virginia Tunstall, was one of the many North Carolinians who, in the early '30's, moved to the young state of Alabama. She came from a slave plantation in North Carolina to live on another in Alabama. She came when the Indians were still occupying one-third of the state and she saw Alabama grow out of the wilderness; and now at the beginning of a new century she tells the story of her life to a generation that never saw a slave nor an Indian. Until the Civil War the lines of her life fell in pleasant places, and in her reminiscences we have bright pictures of the social life in the Black Belt and in the small Southern towns. Married when very young to Senator Clement C. Clay, she at once became known as one of the most brilliant women who adorned Washington society in the decade before the war. Of all the ins and outs of this splendid life we are told in detail, and the story is never dull. There is a chapter on the fashions of the fifties, and the book is illustrated with a dozen or more contemporary portraits of the best known of the stately Washington dames. There are also portraits of American and foreign statesmen whom Mrs. Clay knew, but among them are no "Black Republicans"—Mrs. Clay would know none of them.

She clearly sets forth the strained relations that existed between the Republican and Democratic sections of society in the Capital. Official society was predominantly Southern until the exodus began in 1859-1860, a year or more before the final rupture, and when the Confederate government was set up in Richmond the society of Washington seemed to have been almost wholly transferred to the Virginia city. The later chapters tell of life in the Confederate Capital, of the gradual darkening of hope, of refugee life when fleeing before the Federals, of suffering at the hands of the invaders, and of the final collapse of resistance and the dispersal of the Confederate officials. The less pleasant are the chapters relating to the prison life of Senator Clay and President Davis in Fortress Monroe, where they were annoyed by the petty meanness of their jailors. Senator Clay's health was so injured by the treatment received that he never recovered, but died a few years later from the effects of it. In telling of her efforts to secure her husband's release, Mrs. Clay expresses very unfavorable opinions of Stanton and Holt, and gives a rather original characterization of Johnson. Scattered throughout the book are vivid sketches of politicians, statesmen and other celebrities whom Mrs. Clay has known in her long and active life.

WALTER L. FLEMING.

West Virginia University.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE; An Interpretation and an Analysis. By Herbert Friedenwald, Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904. O., pp. xii+299. Cloth, $2.00.

In his preface Dr. Friedenwald calls attention to "the close inter-relation between the development of the authority and jurisdiction of the Continental Congress and the evolution of the sentiment for independence." In other words, the Congress, which in its first years was considered as rep-

resenting the assemblies by whom its members were chosen, gathered power to itself, strengthened itself, gradually came to tear away from the aristocratic and conservative assemblies and to turn toward the more democratic committees of correspondence and safety and under the leadership of a powerful radical minority brought the more conservative members of its own body to the idea that independence was the necessary outcome of the controversy with England. The king's speech to Parliament in the fall of 1775 was a factor in bringing about this result, while Paine's *Common Sense* written to order in advance to meet any spirit of conciliation the king might show and published just as the speech reached America was a still stronger factor in advancing the schemes of a bold and extremely radical minority.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter is on adopting and signing the Declaration. It is shown that most of the signatures were affixed on August 2, instead of July 4, that it was not signed by seven persons who became members of Congress on July 4 and was signed by seven who were not then members. It is also shown that the so-called Liberty Bell which has been carted around the Union and shown at World's Fairs to gaping multitudes, but which the profane hands of the multitudes are not so much as allowed to touch, has no connection with the events of the day.

There are chapters on the Declaration and its critics, the purpose and philosophy of the Declaration and a summary of the "Facts submitted to a candid world," showing the historical foundations on which Jefferson based his indictment of the English king.

There seems to be a few errors. On page 220 Governor Josiah Martin, of North Carolina, is assigned to Virginia and in the index he is called Alexander; on p. 143 by a curious psychological oversight "forty-five" is written for "four." There is a very full index.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. By Louis Clinton Hatch, Ph. D. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The author says that "This monograph was originally prepared as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Harvard University. It has since been revised, some matter omitted, and some additions have been made."

It is a handsomely bound and well printed book of 215 pages, with a very good index. The author cites three authorities consulted in its preparation.

The first chapter is a statement of the formation of the army. The second shows the relations between Congress and the commander-in-chief. The third shows the methods of appointment and promotion. The fourth a sketch of foreign officers taken into the service. The remaining chapters, of which there are nine in all, set out the rates of pay and half pay, the manner of supplying the army, an account of the mutinies of 1781, the celebrated Newburg address, the mutiny of 1783 and the disbandment of the army. These are followed by appendices containing copies of the Newburg addresses, and papers connected with them; the two anonymous addresses to the officers of the army, March 10th and 12th, 1783; Washington's address to the officers, March 15, 1783; draft of a reply to the anonymous addresses, March 15, 1783, and extract of a letter from Armstrong to Gates, April 29, 1783.

It is a most valuable publication, and the author has shown great research and excellent judgment in both the manner and matter of the book. While written in a scholarly style, and necessarily abbreviated, it is full of interest and furnishes most attractive and instructive reading. It ought to be read by all young army officers, and all others who are interested in the history of our war for independence, and in general American history.

The September, 1904, installment of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell's Autobiography of Washington in the *Century* deals with the beginnings of the Braddock Campaign. There is clear proof of that officer's unfitness for the work assigned him. His self-sufficiency, his obstinacy, his contempt for the colonial troops are clearly shown as is the watchful and fatherly care exercised by Lord Fairfax over the young Washington, now advanced to the rank of aide on Braddock's staff. With October, Dr. Mitchell brings to a close his vivid Autobiography of Washington. This chapter takes him through the preparation for the campaign of 1754, the defeat of Braddock and the retreat from Fort Duquesne. The story of Washington's youth as thus told by Dr. Mitchell presents all the attractions of romance and all the minuteness of reality.

How the United States Became a Nation. By John Fiske. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1904. Pp. xix+254. $1.25.

The *raison d'etre* of this book, which is a reissue of an earlier impression, is hard to discover. Certainly it cannot be found in the title, which is a misnomer. "A Picture Gallery of American Greatness" would be a far more appropriate title, for the book contains nearly one hundred illustrations. In about 35,000 words the author gives a splendid running summary of the history of the United States from the inauguration of Washington to the close of the Civil War. But when that is said, there is not much more to say. Important events are simply narrated without a hint of their bearing upon the nationalization of the country. The opinion of Washington on the French revolution, his private life at Mount Vernon, his illness and death, and the manumission of his slaves are interesting topics, but their bearing upon the subject is difficult to be seen. The same is true of the twenty pages devoted to the military history of the War

of 1812 and the fifty devoted to the Civil war. Even this last great tragedy is passed over without a hint of its nationalizing influence. Students of French history will be surprised to learn that France was ruled by a "gang of anarchists" (24) in the time of the Terror. The book is a readable one for young students, as any one acquainted with the author's other works might expect, but its title is misleading and never should have been adopted.

PROF. DAVID Y. THOMAS.

Conway, Ark.

PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT SOUTH. By Edgar Gardner Murphy. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904. O., pp. xxi+335. $1.50, postage 11 cents extra.

As the sub-title suggests this book is a discussion of certain of the educational, industrial and political issues in the Southern States. As the preface says it is "an effort to contribute, from a standpoint within the life and thoughts of the South, to the discussion of the rise of democratic conditions in our Southern States."

The principal subjects considered are the public schools; the industrial (manufacturing) revival and child labor and the treatment of the negro. The chapters are general in character, state comparatively few facts and show an insufficiency of knowledge of the subjects treated; they are filled with words and seem written from the standpoint of the orator who will win by sweet harmonious sounds and not by the logic of facts and reason. The old aristocracy is weighed and found wanting and there are many references to the new democracy without telling what it is or how it is to be evolved from the old. There is much said of the educational work undertaken by the General Educational Board, the Southern Education Board and the Conference for Education in the South. In fact the book would seem mainly a plea and the mouthpiece of these organi-

zations and their work. Like so many other educated Southerners who have let their enthusiasm for the new education get the better of their self-respect Mr. Murphy stands hat in hand pleading for a crumb that may fall from the lap of Northern wealth. He fails to realize that the sturdy self-reliance which carried his people through four years of war and through ten years more of the more terrible reconstruction is the best assurance that after 30 years of peace and increasing prosperity that people will not be content to remain ignorant. Dependence on others is worse than poverty; loss of self-respect is worse than ignorance. In the appendix are valuable statistics of education from the census; on p. 308 the five most illiterate counties of New Mexico are assigned by error to Arizona and on p. 43 South Carolina appears for North Carolina.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF VIRGINIA DURING RECONSTRUCTION. By Hamilton James Eckenrode. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, June-August, 1904. O., pp. 128.

This monograph is a study covering the three years of reconstruction in Virginia, 1867-70. This State had an experience less bitter than other of her Confederate sisters for she had an organized and recognized union government before the war ended. The Alexandria government at the conclusion of hostilities moved to Richmond and under the conservative and conciliatory leadership of Governor Pierpont sought to heal the wounds engendered by secession.

The author discusses successively the Alexandria government, the President's attempt at restoration, the beginning of reconstruction, the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League, the State campaign of 1867, the constitutional convention of 1868 and the final restoration of the State by the adoption of the Underwood constitution in a modified form, and the election of Gilbert C. Walker as

Governor by the joint votes of conservatives and liberal Republicans.

The study is scientific in form, full and luminous in treatment. It seems to be based mainly on sources. It has far more of literary form than is usually found in historical studies of its high grade.

BENEATH VIRGINIA SKIES. By Georgie Tillman Snead. New York: Scott-Thaw Company, 1904. 12 mo., pp. 343.

The author uses as an historical background the rise of the Baptists in Virginia and their struggle with the authorities of the Established Church. The hero belongs to a family of wealth and refinement, but is disinherited for embracing the Baptist faith and becoming one of the dissenting ministers, or "New Lights." Immediately after marrying a rich young heiress, whose wealth he does not suspect, he sets out for the Revolutionary army to assume the duties of a chaplain. As marriages performed by a dissenting minister were not then recognized by Virginia law, a worldly parson desiring the girl's wealth attempts, unsuccessfully, to have the marriage set aside and to marry the young lady himself. After a long separation, attended with many mishaps, the lovers are reunited and the story comes to a happy conclusion.

The reader will find in this story nothing that is new. The author's Virginia is the conventional land of lordly planters, profligate parsons, vicious indentured servants, scapegraces of the English aristocracy, primeval forests, and marauding Indians, that has been described in historical novels world without end. The book is well worth reading, however, on account of the attractive way in which the author has depicted the development of character in the heroine, who from a timid, unsophisticated girl of thirteen

evolves into a charming bit of womanhood possessing sweetness, common sense, and withal femininity.

Howard Wilford Bell, New York City, has printed as one of the "Unit Books" *The Domestic Manners of the Americans* by Frances M. Trollope. This well known book was first published in 1836 and succeeded in making the Americans thoroughly indignant at what they regarded as a caricature of things American. But now after seven decades we can estimate the work of the brilliant but superficial and bitterly prejudiced English woman at something like its true value. While missing the whole spirit of American life, Mrs. Trollope, who saw with keen eyes every American weakness and all that was unpleasant, undignified and ridiculous, has preserved for the use of the student of social history many facts that otherwise might have been lost. We do not fully accept her interpretations nor her conclusions, but from her most interesting narrative we get bright sidelights on the American frontier society of the '30's.

The plan of the present edition is worthy of note. As in all the "Unit Books" the added material is placed in the back of the volume—preface, sketch of the author, history of the book, notes on the text, and a list of books on America written by foreigners. The text is unabridged. There are 402 pages, making 17 "units" of 25 pages each. Each "unit" sells for two cents and the cost of binding is added. The seventeen unit books bound in paper cost 34 cents, in cloth 64 cents, and in limp leather 84 cents. So the price of a "Unit" book depends upon the number of pages, a very sensible arrangement. The paper and type are good. The series consists principally of reprints of literary masterpieces, but several works of historical interest have been included, and others are to appear.

THE OFFICIAL AND STATISTICAL REGISTER OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, 1904. Edited and compiled by Dunbar Rowland. Nashville, Tenn.: The Brandon Printing Company, 1904. O., pp. 694, many portraits and ills.

This Official Register of Mississippi, the first of its kind, is prepared under an act of 1902 and is to be reissued every four years by the Department of Archives and History. Mr. Rowland has made his first number largely historical in character. It contains the organic acts and the constitutions of the State, the last being annotated so as to show the source of each section. There are lists of territorial and state officials, a chronological history from 1540 and a list of members of the legislature, 1817-1904, arranged in part alphabetically. It seems to this reviewer that an arrangement by counties and an index would have been more useful and valuable historically, especially as these names do not seem to be inserted in the general index. There are a few pages devoted to the resources of the state which seem rather out of place as the work is mainly historical. Part 3 contains many statistics, descriptions of state institutions, and lists of county officers. Part 4, which is the most detailed and which will in the future be of the greatest historical value, contains many sketches and portraits of the members of the present executive, legislative and judicial departments. There is also a section devoted to the state capitols, with illustrations.

The volume has many excellent features and with an index that included every proper name in its pages would be of the greatest service to the student.

HISTORY OF MECKLENBURG COUNTY [North Carolina] and the City of Charlotte from 1740 to 1903. By D. A. Tompkins. Volume two, appendix. Charlotte, N. C.: Observer Printing House, 1903. O., pp. xix+213+[2], 2 maps, 11 ports., 37 ills., cloth.

Mecklenburg County, N. C., is fortunate in the preservation of her history. A year ago Dr. J. B. Alexander published a history of the county (reviewed in vol. 7, pp. 300-1). The first volume of Mr. Tompkins's work is reviewed in vol. 8, 65-68 and his second volume is now published. It is intended as an appendix to the first volume and discusses at great length some of the matters which are only touched upon in the first. While there is necessarily some duplication of Dr. Alexander's work, the two books largely supplement and complement each other. Alexander leans largely to the personal, genealogical and reminiscent side; Tompkins deals more with institutions and social phenomena.

The most important subject discussed in Mr. Tompkins's second volume is the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence to which the first 56 pages are devoted. The author defends the genuineness of the Declaration of the 20th May and while he adds no new evidence to that already known presents his materials in clearer and more logical way than has been done by previous writers. He draws largely from the state pamphlet of 1831 on the subject, prints letters of Governor Swain and adds a bibliography of its literature.

Professor G. B. Hanna furnishes a valuable chapter on mining in Mecklenburg county and on the work of the mint in Charlotte. Some thirty pages are given to biographical sketches of prominent citizens while the remainder of the volume is devoted to miscellaneous matters: Andrew Jackson's birthplace; customs of the pioneers, the Regulation and the Black Boys of Cabarrus, church affairs and the part of Mecklenburg in the various wars of the United States, with rosters of her volunteers. The latter might have been omitted especially as they have been recently printed in Alexander's book.

As was said of the first volume of Mr. Tompkins's history this work approaches much nearer the ideal of the social

history of the Germans, their culturgeschichte, than local histories are wont to do. It is evident that the author has brought to his task much more intelligent preparation than is usually found in such work. The general plan as indicated by the various chapter headings is most excellent, but it must be acknowledged that the plan is far superior to the execution. As was said of the first volume the subjects are not treated exhaustively and there is about the whole an air of scrappiness and incompleteness. There are also many discreditable blunders which appear to be due mainly to careless proofreading: Hawkes for Hawks (p. 5); Walter S. for Walter W. Moon (p. 58); 1880 for 1780 (p. 64); 1828 for 1878 (p. 72); 1768 for 1788 (?) (p. 94); 1837 for 1873 (p. 135), and others. Nor can this reviewer subscribe to Mr. Tompkins's views as to the "accuracy and impartiality" of Francis Xavier Martin. Two cases will illustrate: One is Martin's ignorance of the history of the press in N. C., of which he had the very best opportunity to learn; the other is his false statements in regard to the early Quakers when authentic facts were actually before him. In matters of accuracy Martin can be ranked no higher than Wheeler!

North Carolina Booklet, July-October, 1904, vol. iv, Nos. 3-6. Raleigh, N. C., $1.00 per year.

July.—Historic Homes in North Carolina, Quaker Meadows, by Hon. A. C. Avery, deals with the home of the McDowells of King's Mountain and Revolutionary fame and of this family which has been long prominent in North Carolina (pp. 24).

August.—The conventions of 1788 and 1789 and the Federal constitution—Hillsborough and Fayetteville, by Judge Henry G. Connor, pp. 36; based on the Debates and on McKee's Iredell (pp. 36).

September.—Sketches of John Penn and Joseph Hewes,

signers, by Thos. M. Pittman and Prof. E. W. Sikes, respectively, with portraits (pp. 36).

October.—North Carolina in South America, a popular account of the English expedition against Cartagena in 1740 under Admiral Vernon and the part taken by the 400 North Carolina troops; also North Carolina in war—her troops and generals, by Hon. Walter Clark (pp. 24, 2 maps).

The Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro, N. C., has printed Judge J. E. Shepherd's address on July 4, 1904, on the Life of Judge David Schenck, the founder of the company and who by his enthusiasm made the site of the Guilford C. H. battle one of the best known historical sites in the South. The company has also printed R. F. Beasley's account of the battle of Elizabethtown and the career of Capt. James Morehead.

Mr. Thomas P. Thompson has compiled for the Louisiana State Commission of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition a list of *Louisiana Writers, native and resident, including others whose works belong to a Bibliography of the State* (New Orleans, 1904, pp. 64). He gives something like 800 names with perhaps a thousand titles and touches only the more general and better known phases of the intellectual life of the State. Thus there is no mention of State or Federal public documents, of laws or court decisions, or of institutional reports. It has none of those bibliographical details which delight the heart of the bibliophile, such as exact title pages with uprights, collations, enumeration of editions, historical, biographical, bibliographical, critical or illuminating notes. The short title with date and place of publication only are given. It is presumed that the list is intended principally for advertising purposes at the St. Louis Exposition. It will also be of service as a preliminary or tentative list preparatory to the exhaustive Bibliography

of Louisiana which it is understood Mr. William Beer, of New Orleans, has in preparation. A valuable feature is the list of Louisiana artists, with the approximate date of their greatest activity and the character of their work.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND EXPLORATION, Early History and Building of the West. By Ripley Hitchcock. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1904. O., pp. xxi+349, map and many illus., cloth.

This is a popular account, based on secondary authorities of the history of the States and territories carved from the Louisiana Purchase. It begins with Spanish and French explorations and discovery, traces the transfer to the United States, gives a brief popular account of Lewis and Clark's expedition drawn from their journals, and sketches the later industrial development of the section. An appendix, "The Louisiana Purchase to-day," gives statistics covering agricultural products, with historical facts. There is an index.

Mr. Thomas M. Owen, Director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, has issued as *Bulletin* No. 2 from his department a "History of the First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry," the first regiment from the South formally to enter the Confederate service. The author is Edward Y. MacMorries, who served in the regiment from 1861 to 1865, and who was in every action in which his regiment was engaged. The nine chapters set forth the record of the regiment at Pensacola in 1861; at Island No. 10, and in prison in 1862; at Port Hudson in 1862-1863; at Meridian, Mobile, and in Georgia and Tennessee in 1863-1864; and in the Carolinas in 1865. In the later chapters are reminiscences of army life by the author and by Col. Studman who led the regiment for four years. There is also a list of the Alabama soldiers buried at Madison, Wisconsin, where the regiment was imprisoned in 1862. This command was one of the best in the western armies; its members were from the most prominent fam-

ilies of the State. At a reunion in 1898 only twenty members were present. In spite of the fact that this command was early organized, bore a good reputation, and was charged with important duties, it was armed with flint lock muskets until 1863—a commentary on the lack of preparation of the Confederacy.

Major Caleb Huse, formerly of the Confederate army, who was sent to Europe by President Davis to purchase military supplies for the Confederacy, has written an interesting account of the work he accomplished and the methods he pursued during his four years' service abroad—under the title, "The Supplies of the Confederate Army, How they were obtained in Europe and How paid for." Major Huse was born in Massachusetts, educated at West Point, and in 1860 was borne on the rolls at Fort Sumter as a lieutenant of artillery. When Alabama seceded Lieutenant Huse was serving as commandant of cadets at the University of Alabama. He resigned his commission in the U. S. Army to accept a position in the Confederacy. The pamphlet may be obtained for 25 cents from J. S. Rogers, 118 Barrister's Hall, Boston, Mass.

Professor Walter L. Fleming, of West Virginia University, is preparing for publication by the Arthur H. Clark Company, of Cleveland, a collection of Documents Relating to Reconstruction. Professor Fleming, in connection with an extended study of Reconstruction, has for several years been collecting contemporaneous data for that period. This collection will not only include the official documents, political platforms and speeches, thus superseding McPherson's "Documentary History of Reconstruction," but will also draw on many rare private sources for original, hitherto unpublished matters regarding the Ku Klux Klan, the White Camelia, The Union League, churches and schools during Reconstruction, the Freedmen's Bureau, etc.

State laws and decisions of state courts will also be included, together with selections illustrating social and economic conditions during the period covered. Professor Fleming is still unearthing material and has discovered many unique documents owned by private individuals; he would be glad to hear from persons having in their possession material relating to this period, and may be addressed at Morgantown, West Virginia.

During the past year a series of articles by Miss Elizabeth McCracken on "The Women of America" appeared in *The Outlook.* These articles are to be published in book form by the Macmillan Company. There are several chapters that are of especial interest to students of Southern social conditions, especially the one on "The Southern Woman and Reconstruction."

Miss Howard Weeden, of Huntsville, Alabama, has in press with Doubleday, Page & Company a volume of poems entitled "Old Voices." Like the "Bandanna Ballads" and "The Shadows on the Wall," the present volume describes conditions on the ante-bellum plantations of the South.

The Everett Waddy Company, of Richmond, has issued a second edition of Dr. C. L. C. Minor's "The Real Lincoln." The book is a protest against the conception of Lincoln given by the story book and the school histories.

"The Story of the United States" in Putnam's "Stories of the Nations" will be written by Prof. E. E. Sparks, of the University of Chicago.

It is very pleasant to learn that Dr. B. A. Elras has secured enough subscribers to warrant his proceeding with his history of the Jews of South Carolina. Lippincott & Company, Philadelphia, will bring it out this spring, if possible.

NOTES AND NEWS.

President Gilman and the Carnegie Institution.—At the regular meeting of the trustees in December last, President D. C. Gilman announced his desire to withdraw from active management on account of increasing years, and a successor was elected. His relations with the board had been of the most cordial nature. Several lines of learned and fruitful investigations had been started, proving the success of his plan. President Gilman thus closes a unique and extraordinary career in education. He is the only man living to have the wonderful honor of being an organizer and director of two pioneer movements into virgin and advanced fields of scholastic study. He first showed the New World what genuine university work is, he has pointed out to both worlds how to take the next higher step in the quest of knowledge. Not a teacher himself his was the far rarer and greater gift, he could choose, marshal and command those who had the highest skill and qualities. But executive ability is not his only title to eminence. He is the master of a style unsurpassed for clearness, for accuracy, for delicate discrimination. The pedagogical profession among us loses its greatest and foremost leader, but history and literature may gain from this period of mellow leisure.

Historical Interest in New England.—In 1894 the little locality of Nantucket formed a historical association with nearly 200 chartered members, increasing to 300 within four years, at an annual fee of $2.00 or a life fee of $15.00. Besides a regular publication, the society has bought an old mill to be preserved as a relic, at a cost of $800. It now has property to the value of $3,000. All this wonderful result has been accomplished by a mere handful of people. Perhaps no such energy and interest can be found elsewhere in this country.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

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VICE-PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON.

By David M. DeWitt.

Kingston, N. Y.

(Continued.)

This champion of "the poor whites"—originally "a poor white" himself—could not but feel an instinctive antagonism to the highborn leaders who for the most part represented the Southern States in the Senate. Cradled in ease and affluence; every educational facility afforded them; their hands exempt from labor; endowed with leisure to prepare themselves by study for the practice of politics and statesmanship; courtly yet haughty in bearing; having at their tongues' end all 'the graces taught in the schools' and all 'the studied contrivances of speech': they could not but look askance, with a sort of contemptuous astonishment, at this untrained offspring of the "depths," who, though possessed of none of the advantages they had enjoyed, flaunted his own equality with the highest of them, sought out his well-born adversaries in the hurly-burly of debate, yielded not an inch, gave blow for blow, upheld the homely standard of the class he represented against the emblazoned banners of the Southern chivalry.

In opposing a grant of lands in aid of the Pacific railroad on the ground that such wholesale squandering of the property of the Union was an unconstitutional exercise of power, he took occasion to allude to this contrast of opportunities:

"It may be said I am a plebeian and have made my way here from the ranks. Some gentlemen may say I contracted my prejudices there. I am a plebeian and I am proud of it. I know there are others who can boast of more favored circumstances; that they have lived in the midst of affluence; that they have had parents who could extend to them all the facilities, all the comforts, and all the means seemingly necessary to give a man position in society in modern times. I know I cannot boast of these things; others may boast of them; I have no objection. All I regret is that I have not a fair chance with them; but on the other hand, not to be egotistical, I thank God Almighty that he has endowed me with physical power, and with a tolerably healthy brain."

In his final effort to pass the Homestead Bill (session of 1859-60) he encountered opposition of the most irritating character from some of the leading Southern Senators. They seem to have combined to provoke their plebeian associate. As a proof of inconsistency they flung in his face his opposition to the Pacific Railroad grant. They charged him with political heresy, with agrarianism, with loose construction of the Constitution, with making alliances with anti-slavery Senators, with demagogism, with truckling to the Northern people with an eye to the Presidency. Wigfall of Texas stigmatized his pet measure as "a bill providing land for the landless, homes for the homeless, and leaving out the important matter, in my opinion of negroes for the negroless." Mason of Virginia called his attention to the avowed purpose of the Republicans to make use of the bill to "plant a population" on the public territory "from the free States and excluding the slave population;" scornfully alluding to the Senator from Tennessee: "We have been bred in different schools and reason in a different manner."

Against this band of assailants, Johnson stood with un-

daunted front. An extract or two from his replies may be found characteristic.

"We have been driven round and round upon the slavery question; round and round the giddy circle of slavery agitation we have gone, until our heads are reeling and our stomachs are sick, and almost heaving."

"It really seems to me that if some member of this body was to introduce the ten commandments for consideration and they were to receive consideration and discussion, somebody would find a negro in them somewhere; the slavery agitation would come up."

"A word as to agrarianism and the Gracchi. There are a few persons who have learned to talk about the French Revolution and the Jacobins, and the Red Republicans and the Gracchi, and the agrarians and all that, and they get up a terrific idea, and make everybody fear that there is something terrible in the measure. It is learned and literary and classical to repeat these things, and gentlemen are constantly talking about them and losing sight of the great principle, of the great object to be accomplished, of ameliorating the condition of the great mass of the people. * * * You may talk about Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, but there were never two men more slandered in all the tide of history."

"If being poor was a crime, and I was before you as my judge upon trial, and the charge was read to me, and I was asked to put in my plea, I should have to plead that I was guilty; that I was a great criminal; that I had been born a criminal; and that I had lived a criminal a large portion of my life. Yes, I have wrestled with poverty, the gaunt and haggard monster; I have met it in the day and night; I have felt his withering approach and his blighting influence; but did I feel myself a criminal? No, I felt I was an honest man and that I would rescue myself from the grasp of the monster."

"Mr. Calhoun was a logician; he could reason from premise to conclusion with unerring certainty, but he was as often wrong in his premises as anybody else. Admit his premises, and you were swept off by the conclusion; * * * and I think Mr. Calhoun was more of a politician than a statesman. Mr. Calhoun never possessed that class of mind that enabled him to found a great party. * * * * His mind was metaphysical and logical, and he was a great man in his peculiar channel, but he might be more properly said to have founded a sect than a great national party."

Buchanan's veto crowned the long series of his vexations. In the depths of his mortification, referring to the wish of Washington and Jackson that every head of a family should have an abiding place for his wife and children, he was provoked to doubt "whether considerations

so natural, so humane, so Christian, have ever penetrated the brain of one whose bosom has never yet swelled with emotions for wife or children."

"If there were forty Presidents," he exclaimed, "with forty assistants to write out vetoes, I should stand by this bill."

He assailed the veto power itself with an argument which he little thought would return to plague him in the future:

> "The President of the United States presumes—yes, sir; I say presumes—to dictate to the American people and to the two Houses of Congress, in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution, that this measure shall not become a law. Why do I say this? I ask, is there any difference in the spirit of the Constitution whether a measure is sanctioned by a two-thirds vote before its passage or afterwards? When a measure has been vetoed by the President, the Constitution requires that it shall be reconsidered and passed by a two-thirds vote in order to become a law. But, here, in the teeth of the Executive, there was a two-thirds vote in favor of this bill."

Nevertheless, seventeen Senators — everyone of them from a Southern State joined the President; and, in consequence, the bill failed to become a law.

The defeat of this measure—the object of his unwearied advocacy from the time of his entrance into the House of Representatives, seventeen years before, during which assistance came for the most part from the North, and opposition for the most part from the South—did more than any other one thing to convert the instinctive antipathy, lurking in the bosom of the plebeian Senator towards the patricians of his section, into a state of permanent alienation that wanted but a cardinal occasion to burst forth into open war.

And the cardinal occasion soon came. When the Senate met in December, 1860, a President and Vice-President of the United States—each from a non-slaveholding State—had been elected by votes from non-slaveholding states exclusively, against the unanimous votes of the slavehold-

ing States and upon the public pledge to prevent the spread of slavery into the common territory. The entire South was shaken to its centre; the southern tier of States, driving on with headlong haste measure after measure to break away from a people they had come to regard as an enemy bent upon desolating their family hearths and rooting up their social system. At the opening of the session, the Republican Senators sat grouped together on one side of the chamber, and the Southern Senators on the other; the usual interchange of greetings between members of opposing parties being dropped as a mockery too ghastly in the face of the grim realities of the situation. "Not a solitary man," as was remarked by one of the Southern group, "crossed over from one side to the other." "Two hostile bodies" eyed each other across the floor, one in silence and gloom, the other with the knit brow of hate and the scowl of defiance;—"a type of the feeling," as was said, "existing between the two sections." During the first few days, one senator after another from the slaveholding States—Clingman of North Carolina, Iverson of Georgia, Davis and Brown of Mississippi, Green of Missouri, Mason of Virginia and Wigfall of Texas—arose, and, now in mournful, now in solemn, now in defiant tones, and now in tones of levity, announced the dissolution of the Union, affirmed the constitutional right of a State to secede, foretold the speedy exercise of that right, and avowed his own purpose to follow her banner. At length, on Tuesday the eighteenth of December, the day after the meeting of the South Carolina Convention, Andrew Johnson's turn came. Up to this point we have purposely refrained from noting the one principle of his intellectual life and at the same time the one absorbing passion of his emotional nature that governed his whole political career. From his youth up he had been self-imbued with a reverence for the Constitution of the United States, as profound as it was pedantic. The

complex system of State sovereignty and Federal nationality, which was in one aspect the maker, and in another the creature, of the Constitution, he worshiped to the point of idolatry. There was no document he had "conned" (to use his favorite phrase) so often as the Constitution. He had spelled out its historic text on his tailor's bench. He had waxed warm in debate over its clauses in his tailor's shop. He had carried it with him as his political bible in all the hot canvasses in Tennessee. Upon his hard practical understanding the words of the organic law fell as the oracles of an impersonal fate. The institution of slavery, the rights of his own State, the rights of his own section, the rights of man, the cause of humanity, the march of civilization—all must bring their workings within its august formula, to escape condemnation. Moreover, the class he represented looked up to the central government with a far different feeling from that which actuated the ruling class in the South. To the latter, the State was always first, the Union by a long way last. To the former, the Union was always and by a long way first. To the "poor whites," the Federal government, like the king in the old fights of the commons with the lords, was an ally and a shield against the aristocracy, and they gloried in the thought of being citizens of a great and powerful nation, where their own humble gifted sons might find a broader and fairer field than in the counties and districts where they were shoved into a corner by an imperious majority. And Johnson, as in all other cases, fully partook of this feeling of the community in which he lived. As a representative, as a senator, in the wide-ruling councils of the Union, he was upborne by the consciousness that the plebeian occupied a prouder and more advantageous position there than when he confronted the statesmen of middle and western Tennessee in the councils of his State. To break up the Union was nothing less than to break up his political world. The claim of a right of

secession like any other claim of right by a State he put to this one supreme test; "Is it so nominated in the bond?" And, if he could not find it, for him it did not exist. To his mind, it was always an intellectual delight to retrace the marvellous skill with which the limits of the delegated powers of the common government and the reserved powers of the States had been drawn; and for any man to lay a rude hand upon the delicate symmetry of the august structure was like touching the ark of the covenant. To him, the creed of creeds was the famous synopsis of principles in the first inaugural address of Thomas Jefferson. To him, the greatest toast ever drunk was Jackson's: "The Union! It must be preserved." To him, the most solemn prayer ever lifted up was Webster's peroration in his reply to Hayne. And to him, the greatest blasphemy ever uttered was the saying: "There is a higher law than the Constitution."

Before such a monopolizing principle of action and such a soul-absorbing passion, it needed no prophet to foretell that in the event of a collision, so languid and every-day an attachment to negro slavery as we have seen Johnson entertained, without compunction on the one side or sentimentality on the other, must inevitably go to the wall. In his speech, the year before, on the John Brown raid, when his sympathies with his section were excited to a high pitch, he did not fail to define his position on the question:

"For myself, I am no dissolutionist; I am no madcap on this subject. Because we cannot get our constitutional rights, I do not intend to be one of those who will violate the Constitution. When the time comes, if it ever does come, when it shall be necessary—and God forbid that it ever should come—I intend to place my feet upon that Constitution which I have sworn to support, and to stand there and battle for all its guarantees; and if the Constitution is to be violated, if this Union is to be broken up, it shall be done by those who are stealthily and insiduously making encroachments upon its very foundation."

Still, the preponderance of high motive on the side of

the Union did not lessen the moral courage of the declaration he was about to utter. During the recent presidential campaign, although it was charged that his heart was not with the extreme movement which split the Democratic party, he had (as he said) "through dust and heat, through wind and rain, traversed his State laboring hard to convince the people that Breckenridge and Lane were the best Union men in the country." Buoyed up as he was by the consciousness that he reflected the voice of the mountain neighborhood where he lived, and also by the belief that the majority of the people of his State would support him, yet he must have been aware that he was separating himself from the section with which were entwined all his political sympathies and casting his lot with a section with whose dominant party he had always been at war. Nevertheless, as he would have enforced the return of a fugitive slave from the North, if necessary with the full force of the government, without compunction of conscience or a gleam of pity—it being so nominated in the bond—so now he was prepared to obey the behests of that sentiment of nationality, in which he and the North alone were at one, even at the sacrifice of State and section.

His sturdy figure and set face stood out in strong relief against the background of his scowling associates. His voice, as usual, was low; his plea persuasive on the surface, but with an undertone of stubborn purpose. The text he took for his manifesto was a proposed amendment to the Constitution, introduced by him in the House years before and again a few days ago in the Senate, whose provisions are curiously characteristic of the man. The President and senators were to be elected directly by the people; the term of the justices of the Supreme Court was reduced to twelve years; President and Vice-President were to alternate (to use the exact words) "every four years between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States during the continuance

of the Government;" and the future appointments of judges regulated, "so that the Supreme Court will be equally divided between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States." To this novel remedy he paid but little attention, saying he proposed it only in obedience to a duty which he thought devolved "upon every one who can contribute in the slightest degree to this result to come forward and make some effort to preserve the Union of these States by a preservation of the Constitution;" and he hastened to define his exact position on the great issue at stake:

"I am opposed to secession. I believe it is no remedy for the evils complained of. Instead of acting with that division of my southern friends who take ground for secession, I shall take other grounds while I try to accomplish the same end." * * *

"I think that this battle ought to be fought not outside, but inside of the Union, and upon the battlements of the Constitution itself. * * * We do not intend to go out. It is our Constitution; and we do not intend to be driven from it or out of the Union. Those who have violated the Constitution either in the passage of what are denominated personal liberty bills or by their refusal to execute the fugitive slave law—they having violated the instrument that binds us together—must go out and not we."

"We deny the doctrine of secession; we deny that a State has the power, of its own volition, to withdraw from the Confederacy. We are not willing to do an unconstitutional act to induce or to coerce others to comply with the Constitution of the United States. * * *

"I do not believe the Federal Government has the power to coerce a State; for by the 11th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States it is expressly provided that you cannot even put one of the States of the Confederacy before one of the courts of the country as a party. As a State, the Federal Government has no power to coerce it; but it is a member of the compact to which it agreed in common with the other States, and this Government has the right to pass laws, and to enforce these laws upon individuals within the limits of each State. While the one proposition is clear, the other is equally so."

As he went on he grew bolder.

"Let us talk about things by their right names. * * * If anything can be treason in the scope and purview of the Constitution, is not levying war upon the United States treason? Is not an attempt to take its property treason? Is not an attempt to expel its soldiers treason? Is not an attempt to resist the collection of revenue, or to expel your mails, or to drive your courts from her borders, treason? It is treason, and nothing but treason."

Again:

"I am opposed to the consolidation of Government, and I am as much for the reserved rights of States as any one; but rather than to see this Union divided into thirty-three petty Governments, with a little prince in one, a potentate in another, a little aristocracy in a third, a little democracy in a fourth, and a republic somewhere else; a citizen not being able to pass from one State to another without a passport or a commission from his Government; with quarrelling and warring against the little petty powers, which would result in anarchy; I would rather see this Government to-day—I proclaim it here in my place—converted into a consolidated Government."

Concerning the attitude of his own State, he declared:

"Tennessee will be found standing as firm and unyielding in her demands for those guarantees in the way a State should as any other State in this Confederacy. She is not quite so belligerent now She is not making quite so much noise. She is not blustering as Sempronius was in the council of Addison's play of Cato, who declared that his 'voice was for war.' There was another character there, Lucius, who was called upon to know what his opinions were; and when he was called upon, he replied that he must confess his thoughts were turned on peace."

Besides, what was there to be alarmed about?

"Have we not got the power? We have. Let South Carolina send her Senators back; let all the Senators come; and on the 4th of March next we shall have a majority of six in this body. * * * Am I to be so great a coward as to retreat from duty? I will stand here and meet the encroachments upon the institutions of my country at the threshold; and as a man; as one that loves my country and my constituents, I will stand here and resist all encroachments and advances. Here is the place to stand. Shall I desert the citadel, and let the enemy come in and take possession?" * * * * *

"Are we going to desert that noble and that patriotic band who have stood by us at the North? Who have stood by us upon principle? Who have stood by us upon the Constitution? They stood by us and fought the battle upon principle; and now that we have been defeated, not conquered, are we to turn our backs upon them and leave them to their fate? I for one will not."

Such Northern sentiments from one of their own section drove the Southern members from their propriety. The scene that followed was described by Johnson himself: "As I stood solitary and alone, a bevy of conspirators gathered in from the other House; those who were here

crowded around, with frowns and scowls and expressions of indignation and contempt," with "taunts and jeers and derisive remarks." On the other side, from the sombre and silent mass of Republican senators there flashed gleams of encouragement, there came murmurs of admiration. The effect of the speech upon both sections of the country was tremendous. Thoroughout the North, it was hailed as the one cheering sign among the war-clouds that lowered on the southern horizon. Throughout the South, it was cursed as the one disheartening betrayal of fraternal accord. An Abdiel of faithfulness in the eye of the North, its author was a Judas of treachery in the eye of the South. In many places there—even in his own State—he was shot, hanged and burned, in effigy.

On Tuesday, the fifth of February, he was heard again. By that day, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi had followed South Carolina, and it was only the day before that the Senate was thrilled by the farewell address of Benjamin of Louisiana. Johnson again describes the scene:

> "Yesterday the last of the Senators, who represent what are called the seceding States, retired, and a drama was enacted. The piece was well performed; the actors were perfect in their parts; it was got up to order; I will not say that the mourning auxiliaries had been selected in advance. * * * It was a very affecting scene. * * * It was not unlike the oration of Mark Antony over the dead body of Cæsar. Weeping friends grouped picturesquely in the foreground; the bloody robe, the ghastly wounds. * * * Who was there that did not expect to hear the exclamation: 'If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.'"

In this speech he was still more explicit upon that awful word "Treason."

> "Mr. Ritchie" [formerly editor of the *Richmond Inquirer*], "speaking for the Old Dominion, used language that was unmistakable, that treason should be punished, springing out of the hotbed of the Hartford Convention. It was all right to talk about treason then; it was all right to punish traitors in that direction. For myself, I care not whether treason be committed North or South; he that is guilty of treason is entitled to a traitor's fate."

Wigfall assailed him with great bitterness, twitting him of "disjointed utterance," of incoherence of speech; girding at this old trade; charging him with servile compliance to win the populace, with collusion with Republican senators; with having uttered doctrines more wicked than Helper's; with lying about Jefferson Davis in his absence by denouncing him as a disunionist *per se;* with having advocated all his life "the vilest Democracy and the reddest Red Republicanism."

When the Texas Senator closed his harangue and a motion was made to adjourn, Johnson, with ostentatious mildness, interposed:

> "I see and understand that the Senator from Oregon wants the floor with a view to unite his efforts with the Senator who has just concluded his remarks, in reply to me. I hope the motion will be withdrawn, so that the Senator from Oregon can go on, and when they are both done, all I shall want will be just about thirty minutes."

An adjournment was taken, however; and Lane, who, as a senator from a Northern state had been pushed forward to reply to Johnson's first speech, did not get another opportunity until the second day of March, when he wrought himself up into a towering passion over what he considered a charge of treason Johnson had insinuated against Jefferson Davis as well as himself. "If the word 'treason' was to be applied by him or any other man to me" I "would say you are a coward and cannot maintain it." By way of rejoinder, Johnson quietly said:

> "There are men who talk about cowards, courage, and all that description of things; and in this connection, I want to say, not boastingly, with no anger in my bosom, that these two eyes of mine never looked upon anything in the shape of mortal man that this heart feared."

As to what should be done with traitors, he was still more outspoken:

"I would have them arrested; and, if convicted, within the meaning and scope of the Constitution, by the Eternal God I would execute them. Sir, treason must be punished."

The cheering news had reached him that his own State had voted against the holding of a convention to consider secession, and he was in a most exultant mood, proclaiming:

"Tennessee stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the exercise of the elective franchise. * * * If the people of our sister States had enjoyed the same privilege of going to the ballot-box, and passing their judgment upon the ordinances of secession, I believe more of them would have stood with Tennessee to-day than now stand with her. But the people have been overslaughed, a system of usurpation has been adopted, and a reign of terror instituted."

Flinging Cardinal Woolsey's farewell and Macbeth's last speech at the senator from Oregon, he closed amid the shouting of the galleries, which, repeated attempts to suppress only changed into hisses of exasperation, renewed clapping of hands, stamping of feet and defiant cheers for Johnson.

On his way home after the first inauguration of Lincoln, he was set upon at one place by a mob and fought his way out with his single pistol; at another, he was hissed and hooted out of the town. When he made his way back to attend the July session, the war had begun, and Virginia and Tennessee had joined their "wayward sisters." In allusion to this catastrophe, the Senator from the latter state said:

"Since I left my home, having only one way to leave the State, through two or three passes coming out through Cumberland Gap, I have been advised that they had even sent their armies to blockade these passes in the mountains, as they say, to prevent Johnson from returning with arms and ammunitions to place in the hands of the people to vindicate their rights, repel invasion and put down domestic insurrection and rebellion." "We claim to be the State. The other divisions may have seceded and gone off; and if this Government will stand by and permit those portions of the State to go off, and not enforce the laws and protect the loyal citizens there, we cannot help it; but we still claim to be the State, and if two-

thirds have fallen off, or have been sunk by an earthquake, it does not change our relation to this Government. * * * We are a rural people; we have villages and small towns; no large cities. Our population is homogeneous, industrious, frugal, brave, independent; but harmless and powerless, and rode over by usurpers. You mav be too late in coming to our relief; or you may not come at all, though I do not doubt that you will come; they may trample us under foot; they may convert our plains into graveyards, and the caves of our mountains into sepulchres; but they will never take us out of this Union, or make us a land of slaves—no, never. We intend to stand as firm as adamant, and as unyielding as our own majestic mountains that surround us."

Steady in his votes for men and money to preserve the Union, he, at the same time, introduced that famous resolution which, after the Bull Run disaster, pledged the Congress that the war was not waged "for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing the established institutions of the Southern States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

The advancing Confederate forces swept over his corner of Tennessee. His home was invaded. His wife and daughters were turned into the street. His house became a barrack. One of his sons-in-law became a prisoner of war, another a wanderer in the woods. Yet, during the next session, he still persisted in representing without a colleague his revolted State, the single, solitary Senator that remained from the seceding section. In the streets of Washington, he was stared at by men, women and children, as a monster. To the last, he was consistent. Speaking of the Southern leaders, on the last day of January, 1862, he said:

"They had lost confidence in the intelligence and virtue and integrity of the people, and their capacity to govern themselves; and they intended to separate and form a Government, the chief cornerstone of which should be slavery, disfranchising the great mass of the people, of which we have seen constant evidence, and merging the powers of Government in the hands of the few. I know

what I sav. I know their feelings and their sentiments. I served in the Senate here with them. I know they were a close corporation, that had no more confidence in or respect for the people than has the Dey of Algiers. I fought that close corporation here. I knew that they were no friends of the people. I knew that Slidell and Mason and Benjamin and Iverson and Toombs were the enemies of free government, and I know so now."

Among his last words in the Senate were: "I am a Democrat now; I have been one all my life; expect to live and die one."

On the third day of March, 1863, when his term as senator was about to expire, President Lincoln appointed him Military Governor of Tennessee with the rank of brigadier-general. For two years he devoted the whole force of his iron nature in building up a Union government in that State over the increasing area left behind by the advance of the armies of the North. Assassination dogged his footsteps in the streets of Nashville. Notice was given him that he would be shot if he attempted to speak at a certain meeting in the eastern part of the State. When the day arrived, he passed calmly through the crowd, climbed upon the platform, advanced, laid his revolver upon the table and in a low voice said: "I have been told that I should be assassinated if I came here. If that is to be done, then it is the first business in order, and let that be attended to;" and he stood there some moments looking into the faces of the audience, any person in which might have killed him. After a pause he added: "I conclude the danger has passed by," and proceeded to deliver his speech. In the midst of these labors, the Republican party nominated him for Vice-President to attract the support of Democrats of his kidney and to give a non-sectional appearance to the ticket; and in his letter of acceptance he called upon the party with whom he had so long associated "to vindicate its devotion to true democratic policy."

When, on the third day of March, 1865, he laid down his

military governorship to assume the Vice-Presidency, he was greeted by the Secretary of War with the following meed of praise:

"In one of the darkest hours of the great struggle for national existence against rebellious foes, the Government called you from the Senate and from the comparatively safe and easy duties of civil life, to place you in front of the enemy, and in a position of personal toil and danger, perhaps more hazardous than was encountered by any other citizen or military officer of the United States.

With patriotic promptness you assumed the post, and maintained it under circumstances of unparalleled trial, until recent events have brought safety and deliverance to your State and to the integrity of that constitutional Union for which you so long and so gallantly periled all that is dear to man on earth.

That you may be spared to enjoy the new honors and perform the high duties to which you have been called by the people of the United States is the sincere wish of one who, in every official and personal relation, has found you worthy of the confidence of the Government and the honor and esteem of your fellow citizens."

Truly, when, the next day, out of the fire and smoke of thirty-six years of political strife—thirty-four of which had been passed in places of public trust—this man stepped forward to take the second office in the gift of the Republic—bearing upon his shoulders, as it were, his reconstructed State as the last trophy of his spear—it must be conceded that the "plebeian boy" had some solid grounds for self-glorification.

(Continued.)

THE FIRST CLASH IN THE TEXAS REVOLUTION —THE TAKING OF ANAHUAC BY TRAVIS— DOCUMENTS, 1835.

(To be continued.)

[As well known, Texas with Coahuila, a province in what is now Mexico, next to the Rio Grande, was a State of the Mexican Union, formed in 1824, after throwing off the yoke of Spain. The inhabitants of Texas, both those of American and of Spanish descent and sympathy, were loyal to their republic until 1835, when Santa Anna, after making himself military dictator, became very despotic in his bearing. He especially roused the resentment of his Texas subjects by stationing a small body of soldiers at Anahuac, a port on Galveston Bay, no longer existing, to collect duties there. The citizens in that section felt this a special hardship on themselves as they believed no other locality was so treated, and because no import tax had been levied there for several years. It also seemed to them a forced payment for troops quartered on them without their consent. As seen from the papers following they respectfully protested against such administrative measures, and, getting no relief, afterwards took up arms, when, through intercepted dispatches they learned of Mexican reënforcements on the way. It was then that the San Felipe meeting of June 22 authorized W. B. Travis to expel the garrison from Anahuac, which he did a week later, June 29-30. The documents succeeding this may be divided into four heads: 1. Mexican official view of affairs at Anahuac, where Tenorio commanded; 2. The action of the citizens in asking for redress; 3. Intercepted correspondence and preliminary symptoms; 4. Results and comments. It will be noted that some of these documents have been published, but as this was done chiefly in a newspaper not readily accessible, they seem worthy of republication, especially in connection with others that have not hitherto been placed before the public.

The Association is indebted to Mr. E. C. Barker, Austin, Texas, for this material. As usual, footnotes, summaries, headings and bracketed matter are by the Editor.]

I. Views, Mexican and American, Before the Event.

A. Mexican Views [1. Ugartechea to Cos[1]—Tenorio's Situation.]

Bexar, *April 20, 1835.*

By the post of Nacogdoches which arrived yesterday I received the correspondence of Captain Don Antonio

[1] Mexican commanders, Cos, the superior in charge of whole State of Coahuila and Texas, Ugartechea in command of post of San Antonio.

Tenorio, copies of which go with this. You will find out the difficulties and inconveniences which occurred before they came to my hands. * * * Said correspondence gives a pretty good and clear idea of the situation and confirms whatever I have said to you concerning the colonists and the critical circumstances in which Captain Tenorio now finds himself, without even means for the most indispensable necessaries. In view of all this then, and because, on account of the scanty resources which the custom house at Matagorda gives, I have no means to help him, I have no doubt that you, pitying the misery in which the detachment of Galveston is, will dictate the most active measures so that I may receive help from Matamoras with the promptitude which is demanded for the best service which the urgent necessity indicates.

To this day the officer of the company of the Alamo who went to Matamoras for the funds of that company and those of the company of Bexar has not returned; and for that reason not only is there no money to help Tenorio, but it has not even been possible to complete the payment of the troops; even the officers having received only a part of their pay.[2]

[2. Ugartechea to Cos—other data on Tenorio's Situation.]

Bexar, *May 1, 1835.*

Yesterday the corporals returned, whom, as I have told you, I sent to Brazoria and Anahuac; and since there is nothing new except what I have told you and what you must have learned from the copies of the correspondence of Captain Tenorio, I will not send this by an extraordinary (express), but by the regular military post which starts to-day for Matamoras.

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[2] From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

The *officio* which goes with this confirms and corroborates what I have told you of the critical situation in which Tenorio finds himself; and although he says in it that he has sent a Lieutenant, Don Carlos Ocampo, to let me know, and to solicit aid, to this day I have not seen him.

The corporal who went to Brazoria brought the newspapers which I send you and the letters which accompany them. With the translations, I send also the originals.[3]

[3. Ugartechea to Cos—Bearing on Ocampo and Tenorio.]

Bexar, *May 13, 1835.*

Not having been able to help Lieutenant Don Carlos Ocampo who came for that purpose from Anahuac, I disposed for him to go and get assistance from the commissary at Matamoras, for which place he started the 8th of this month. Another communication will let you know the information that Captain Don Antonio Tenorio communicated verbally upon matters of the greatest importance to that detachment, and you will take the steps that you think best.[4]

B. American Attitude.

[4. Ayuntamiento of Liberty:[5] Resolutions, Urging Moderation, Respect for Authority, Obedience to Law, Condemning Extreme Views, Demanding Suppression of all Unlawfulness.]

Department of Nacogdoches
Jurisdiction of Liberty.

We the members of the Ayuntamiento of Liberty having been informed of the difficulties existing between some mer-

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[3] From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.
[4] From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.
[5] City Council of Liberty, a small town on the Trinity, about thirty miles from its mouth.

chants and the Collector of the Maritime Custom House at Galveston in relation to the collection of duties imposed on foreign wares, goods and merchandise, and being desirous to put a speedy period to these dissensions, we have therefore in conformity to the 156th article of the State Constitution thought proper to issue this manifesto, indicating to all the good people of this jurisdiction that a proper obedience to the laws is the first duty of a good citizen, that every nation enjoys the undoubted right to establish its own system of revenue, that the *revenue* laws *like all* other political *laws* are to be respected by those who come within the legitimate scope of their action, and although these laws may be unwise yet to *resist* them by force is more unwise and illtimed than the laws themselves: besides it would be criminal. If a few *individuals* forcibly oppose the collection of the *customs* what will be its tendency? Will not others fall in their train? which if continued will ultimately produce a state of things the injurious consequences of which are incalculable.

It is not our business to estimate the intrinsic justice or injustice of our system of import duties, yet we might be permitted to give our decided opinion that when applied to the peculiar condition of these colonists that they are disproportionate in some particulars and oppressive in others and stand in great need of modification. But this modification is only to be effected by the national congress. Our murmuring at home or wrangling with the Collector serves only to fan the flame and augment the difficulties in obtaining the much desired modification of the tariff. The Mexican Congress can have *no motive* in oppressing the Mexican citizens with burdensome imposts, nor do we believe that they desire it; yet we believe that the enormous duty on a few indispensable articles and the prohibition of others of equal importance to our wellbeing, has a very pernicious tendency, when applied to the citizens of Texas, and

particularly when applied to those who have recently settled here under the colonization law at a time when the great scarcity of the essential means of subsistence (saying nothing about the luxuries of life) is the unavoidable consequence of the great influx of population and which alarming scarcity must continue to increase until the contracts of *colonization* be filled and until the new colonists have sufficient time to put their land in a proper state of cultivation. If the general Congress were memorialized on this subject in a proper and respectful manner we have no reason to doubt that they would apply the proper remedy. This measure should be adopted without delay to which we would with pleasure tend our hearty coöperation: in the meantime let us abandon the introduction of foreign articles burthened with heavy duties and those that are prohibited, let us endeavor to do without them, and depend for a time on our own resources.

This is a more praiseworthy, more patriotic than any recourse to arbitrary measures. We are well aware that the great body of the people in this municipality are too sensible of their duty and allegiance to the Republic of Mexico to be precipitately drawn into collision with its constitutional authorities. But perfect subordination extends to something more than to the upright conduct of the citizens; the respectful deportment of strangers who are not citizens and their obedience to the laws are included. This is the only condition upon which they are permitted to enter our territory or remain within its limits. The subject of having duties or prohibiting Statutes are matters about which they have no right to interfere. Every intelligent merchant before he enters into Foreign commerce, takes care to inform himself of the particular laws of the place to which he intends to trade; he ought to know the customs due on importations and exportations, what goods

are admissible and what prohibited, according to the usages of the tariff and the regulations of the place to which he extends his trade.

If he blindly participates himself into difficulties for want of that necessary information which he might have had, and gets his cargo seized for violation of the prohibitory law, which he as a merchant, is *presumed* to know, what reason has he to complain, the fault is his own, the plea of ignorance will not avail him, he only suffers the penalty of his temerity: to resort to force would only augment the mischief, and all those who might be drawn into the affair would incur heavy penalties. This Ayuntamiento therefore, with great solicitude, caution all persons against using any force, violent threats, or illegal means, aiding or assisting those who may use force, violent or illegal means against the Collector of the Maritime customs of Galveston, in the discharge of his official *duties* or against any of his officers, or other persons lawfully employed in the custom house department, and we call upon all officers, both civil and military, to lend their aid if required to sustain the revenue officers residing at Galveston and Anahuac, in discharging their respective official duties; and we moreover enjoin it as a duty incumbent upon the Comisaries and other officers of Police of this municipality, to use their best exertions to suppress all mobs, riots, threats or other disorderly conduct against the good order and public tranquility, or against any of the public functionaries or other individuals of this municipality, and to give timely notice of any such mal-conduct, together with the names of those who may be engaged therein to the competent authorities.

Ordered that a copy of the foregoing be served on the comisaries of Anahuac, that a copy be furnished to the collectors for the custom House at Galveston, that another be sent to the editor of the *Texas Republican,* for publication,

and that a copy be posted up at the Court house door at this place.

Done in the town of Liberty, this 17th April, 1835.

JOHN WILLIAMS, *President.*
N. DUNCAN, *1st Regidor.*
H. B. JOHNSON, *2d Regidor.*
J. N. MORELAND, *Member and Citizen.*[6]

II. ACTION OF TEXAN PRIVATE CITIZENS.

[5. THE CITIZENS OF ANAHUAC TO THE GOVERNOR OF COAHUILA AND TEXAS—PRAYING FOR EXEMPTION FROM THE MEXICAN DUTIES.]

DEPARTMENT OF NACOGDOCHES.
JURISDICTION OF LIBERTY.

To His Excellency the Governor of the free State of Coahuila and Texas:

The people of this Jurisdiction having this day convened in the town of Anahuac to consider the public wellfare have taken into consideration the mode of collecting duties and executing the revenue laws in these colonies, and conceiving themselves most grievously oppressed, do most respectfully represent:

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[6] From the *Texas Republican,* May 30, 1835. This manifesto is published in Edward's *Texas,* 235-38, under date of June 1. A close examination will reveal some mutual omissions, but there can be no doubt that they are the same documents—even the italics are identical.

The *Texas Republican,* referred to often as a source of Texas history, was a weekly, issued on Saturdays, at San Felipe, begun in August, 1834, by Gray & Harris, publishers, F. C. Gray, editor: continued, with some intermissions, due to Mexican invasion, till August, 1836, when it lost support and died because of suspicion that the Editor and his wife were intriguing for the release of Santa Anna. Gray then went to California, made a fortune, returned East, committed suicide in New York.—Hist. of Texas Press, Scarff's Yoakum, II—369.

That for several years past no duties have been demanded in any part of these colonies, and even now none are demanded at any port but that of Galveston; that this Jurisdiction is the poorest and least improved of any in all Texas; that though any part of these colonies are too poor to pay the regular duties according to the Mexican Tariff, this is the least able of any; that notwithstanding this, some three months since one Martin de Alegria arrived at this place, accompanied by a small party of soldiers, and represented himself as an officer of the Government appointed to collect duties at this place, and since that time he has endeavored to enforce the revenue laws in their fullest rigour; that about the same time one Don José Gonzalez arrived at Velasco, representing and signing himself as the Collector of the ports of Galveston, and demanded the tonnage duties only, declaring that he had no orders to collect more; that neither of these officers has in his possession any treaty of commerce between this Republic and the United States of the North; that neither of them has taken the proper steps to inform the Ayuntamiento of the Jurisdiction of the nature and extent of his offices; that none of the authorities of the department have been notified by the Government of the appointment of any such officers; that a few days since Don José Gonzalez arrived at this place (Anahuac) and pretending to have received fresh orders, pursues the same course of exactions formerly pursued by the above mentioned Don Martin de Alegria, demanding duties on all importations according to the letter of the law; that the people of this Jurisdiction are very much discontented at these proceedings, and that though they have patiently submitted for so long a time to this injustice, they have at length resolved to pay no more, till custom houses shall be organized and duties collected throughout all the other parts of these colonies; and your petitioners would further represent that the poverty of the citizens of these col-

onies and of this Jurisdiction in particular, their increasing population, the scarcity of provisions in the country, and the difficulty of securing supplies make it absolutely necessary that all kinds of provisions and groceries, and all other articles of absolute necessity, should be imported duty free, it being impossible to procure these things in a Mexican market, a sufficiency not being made in this country, and there being an insufficiency of money in the country to pay the duty on half the articles of absolute necessity to the existence of these colonies; moreover, we are here so near the boundary of the United States, and the facilities for smuggling are so great that if this course is persisted in, the commerce of the country will be completely prostrated and the Government not benefitted, for the citizens will be compelled to drive their cattle and hogs across the Sabine, and every one will procure his own supplies from the United States of the North, emigration to the country will be suddenly checked, and the prospects of the present inhabitants at once blasted.

Therefore, having made this representataion of our grievances and dispositions, we pray of your Ecellency to lay before the General Government this, our humble petition, and to use your Excellency's influence in obtaining for us the exemptions we pray for, including some years further exemption from the duties called for by the general tariff, and your petitioners will ever pray for your Excellency's health and prosperity &c.

Done at Anahuac, May 5th, 1835.[7]

[6. Anahuac Meeting May 4, 1835—Resolutions Against Paying the Mexican Duties.]

Anahuac, *May 4th, 1835.*

A respectable number of the citizens of this Jurisdiction convened this day at the house of Benjamin Freeman, of

[7] From the *Texas Republican,* August 8, 1835.

this place according to previous notice. General William Hardin was called to the chair and I. N. Moreland was appointed Secretary. The object of the meeting was explained by Mr. A. Briscoe who presented the following resolutions and Preamble which, after a short discussion, were unanimously adopted:

Whereas there is no Custom House organized in any other part of the colonies of Texas, nor any duty upon importations collected, and whereas duties have been collected here for the last three months, this being the poorest part of a poor country, there being an insufficiency of money to pay the duties on what importations have been made, trade every day decreasing,.....Therefore:

Resolved, That the proceedings of the individuals claiming to be Custom House officers at this place have neither been reasonable, just, or regularly legal; it being unreasonable and unjust to demand the whole duties of one small settlement, while the whole coast and border besides is free and open; and illegal because they have never presented themselves or their credentials to the civil authorities for their recognition, nor have the said authorities ever been notified by the Government that any such officers have been appointed for this port.

Resolved, That the country as we believe is not able to pay the regular duties according to the regulations of the General Tariff. Therefore it is resolved that we send to the Political Chief of this department, by him to be forwarded to the Governor of the State, the foregoing memorial expressive of our opinion with regard to the situation of this part of the country and its inability to comply with the Tariff law, and praying him to intercede with the General Government for an exemption for these colonies for five or six years, from the restrictions upon commerce imposed by the General Tariff.

Resolved, That until the object of the preceding resolu-

tion can be carried into effect, no duties should be collected in this port unless the collection is also equally enforced throughout the province, nor until then will we pay any duties on importations into this port.

Resolved, That these proceedings be signed by the Chairman and Secretary and that copies be forwarded to the Judge of the first instance, to the Editor of the Texas Republican, to Don José Gonzalez, and to the Political Chief of the Department, to be sent by him to the Governor.

I. N. MORELAND.[8]

[7. BRISCOE TO THE EDITOR OF THE TEXAS REPUBLICAN, TRANSMITTING THE FOREGOING RESOLUTIONS OF ANAHUAC MEETING.]

ANAHUAC, *July 11, 1835.*

MR. EDITOR:

Sir: In consequence of some remarks in the report of the committee of the Columbia meeting, disapproving the proceedings of a set of individuals at this place who should have given the collector, Don José Gonzalez a string of resolutions declaring they would not submit to the revenue laws of the government, renouncing these individuals as foreigners, and denying any participation in the transaction. In consequence of which remarks I take it on myself to transmit you herewith a copy of those celebrated resolutions, which will show for themselves. I beg leave also to state for the information of those hasty Columbians that there were some twenty or twenty-five men present, of whom but two were strangers or foreigners, and they both own land in the country and intend to beome citizens. .....I have only to reply that I have been followed by a regular persecution since I went to Velasco to see the real collector, and his mode of proceeding was

[8] From the *Texas Republican,* August 8, 1835.

very different from what it was here. You will see by these resolutions that we only asked a fair chance with the rest of the colonies. A copy was never furnished Gonzalez, nor anybody else, I believe, in consequence of Gen Hardin (the chairman of the meeting) having immediately left for the United States before copies could be made out and signed. I have not seen Mr. Moreland (the secretary) since the meeting. He left the memorial in my possession to be copied and took the resolutions home, a copy of which he signed and sent me. I send the same to you..... I do not know who drew those Columbia resolutions but they are certainly a complete non-committal; they profess the strongest attachment to the government, and immediately recommended the formation of a provisional government, and (I) beg leave further to state that the business of Messrs. Grayson and Jack at Anahuac was not made known to any person but Judge Williams, if to him; that it seemed they could get information from no other person; and further that I believe this same John A. Williams a personal enemy of mine, and a general enemy to the prosperity of the country. Your most obedient servant,

A. Brisco.[9]

(To be continued.)

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[9] From the *Texas Republican*, August 8, 1835.

McHENRY LETTERS.

[Dr. James McHenry was born in Ireland, November 16, 1753, and died May 3, 1816. He was one of Washington's aids, a member of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, and Secretary of War under Washington and Adams. Fort McHenry, near Baltimore, was named in his honor. The Association is indebted to Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, Librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, of Baltimore, Md., for the following selections from the McHenry papers. As usual, summaries and bracketed matter are by the Editor.]

[I. Grove to McHenry—Davie Appointment; Wilmington Conditions for War; State Politics; Irish Affairs.]

Fayettville, *Aug. 20th, 1798.*

Sir: General Davie has no doubt written you on the subject of his appointment; he expressed some embarrassments relative to the propriety of his acceptance under the peculiar circumstances of his situation in the state, being a member of the Assembly, a Majr-Genel. of the Militia—and warmly solicited by the Friends of the Government to allow himself to be appointed Governor of North Carolina at the approaching session of the Legislature—many of us in this quarter think he can serve the country more effectually in times like the present, by remaining in the service of the state, than by accepting an appointment in the Provisional Army, which would disqualify him from state service, without bringing him into immediate active service in the field, as we presume the Provisional Army may not be called on.—The General however assures me he would prefer the service of the United States in the Military line to any state appointment when it is certain *active and real service will be required,* & I have no hesitation in saying that when that day comes he will be found an excellent officer and that he will be ready at

all times to serve his country in such a manner as is most likely to conduce to the public interest—I am induced to say so much on this subject in consequence of the conversation I had the pleasure to have with you before I left Philadelphia on this business, and to hope no disgust may be excited by the General's declining to accept *at this time*, the appoint. in the Provl. Army.

I must here beg leave to add that from Genl. Davie's knowledge of men & characters in this state, I can with propriety assure you if any officers are wanting in this quarter. His recommendation may be useful and relied on, and if applied to he will readily name some that will be an acquisition to the army.—I hope if appointments are making that Martin, Smith & Evans may not be forgotten, the two latter especially—I am not sure the other will accept.—It is with pleasure I find Lieut. Rowan is in a fair way to recover from his Canada Rheumatism, he hopes to be fit for duty in a southern climate.

I enclose you a letter from Capt. Adam of this place who is now at Wilmington and refer you to it for information of the situation of the *Arms* deposited at Wilmington; you may rely on his statement, indeed 'tis nothing more than I had heard before, & had given you a hint of—I hope and trust you have ordered some of those arms to this place as you once promised should be done, if they are committed to the care of Capt. Adam and Winslow, you may rest assured proper care will be taken by them & your instructions relative to them or anything else attended to.—We have in this place a large commodious brick house belonging to the town, one of the rooms would make an excellent armory as it stands by itself in a large square of the town & is 15 feet from the ground on arches and can be entered only by one flight of steps—I cannot omit *again entreating you* to loan our Independent companies in this neighorhood some of the muskets until

they can be furnished from some other quarters—We have a few companies of infantry in this Dist. in handsome uniform who want nothing but arms to make them a terror to the enemies of the peace & honour of their country as far as their numbers can produce that feeling, but thank God in this part of the state we have few Grumbletonians, and still fewer Jacobins & I am persuaded you may with safety confide in us so far as to lend us some of those arms which are & must be useless *& unsafe* in their present situation, and may eventually be wanting in the hands of active citizens to keep a certain class of people in order, that are very numerous in the vicinity of Georgetown & Wilmington, both of which places must be immediately aided from this district in case of any disturbance of a serious nature.

If you could possibly spare swords & pistols for 100 to 200 horsemen and send them here, I could in ten days raise that number of young men to equip themselves as Dragoons & to offer their service to the U. States as volunteers—the arms should be as safe as if they were in one of the arsenals, & might be of infinite service in keeping a proper respect & confidence in the Government.—Some of our companies have sent for swords &c., but the difficulty of obtaining them is very great—therefore if they could be got from the U. States for 12 months, it is to be hoped in that time contracts may be made for furnishing ourselves, on our own account.

It seems the Wilmington company is furnished from the public stores, and I am glad of it, for the situation of that place is not the most safe & pleasant from various reasons, and it must give satisfaction and security to the inhabitants to see arms in the hands of those who are interested in preserving the safety of the town & its vicinity.

Our elections for Congress are closed & tho' I have

been disappointed as to a change of the representative from the district of Hillsboro, the changes in other parts of the state are greater than I expected—and in every change of men there is a complete change in their political tenets, and in general a *vast increase* of weight of character & respectability of talents &c. &c. For Wilmington district—Wm. Hill in place of Mr. Gillespie; for New Bern—A. D. Spaight in place Bryan; Edenton — Judge Stone — D. Burges; Halifax—Willis Alston—T. Blount; Salisbury—A. Henderson—Genl. Lock—Morgan Genl. Dixson tis said—Gen. McDonall; Dan River—Old member R. Williams, Warrenton Do Do—N. Mason; Hillsboro—Do Do—Stanford; Fayetteville Balto. Grove. There is no kind of doubt had Stanford's opponent been a more unequivocal Federal character he would have been elected—there are several Federal men in the division who could have been returnd 4 to one against Stanford, but they would not offer and some people thought if they were to have a negative character in Congress Mr. Stanford would do very well.

We are all here deploring the wretched state of Ireland & fear worse times are approaching that divided & distracted country.—This is a new and awful lesson to the governments & people of the world—I trust in God we in this country may never experience or have occasion for such awful scenes.

If your time will admit it, I shall be much obliged to you for a line on the subject of the arms, and for any political information of importance that may occur.—Wishing you & family safety from the fever & a pleasant summer, I am

Sir, with esteem & regard
Yr very humbl sevt.
W. B. Grove.

The honorable James McHenry.

[2. ADAMS TO GROVE—APPEAL FOR ARMS.]

WILMINGTON *16th Aug., 1798.*

Dear Sir: *By last post I have a letter from our mutual friend Mr. John Story jun. of Phila. by which am extremely sorry to observe that no arms are to be bought there, Government engrossing the whole that is made or for sale, & that unless our company can be supplied through that channell there is no other way they can be had.—In consequence thereof, I made application to Major McRae this forenoon for to purchase or take in loan giving proper security for their safe keeping & return—50 of the 500 stand sent round here and which are under his care—& was greatly disappointed on his replying, that tho' anxious to accomodate us, it was entirely out of his power having no orders whatever from the Secretary at War respecting them. —They are at present deposited in warehouses by no means secure and which have repeatedly been broke open by negroes on former occasions for the sake of plundering goods & without any guard—in this situation the inhabitants of this place instead of considering them of service think their danger is thereby greatly increased and I cannot help being of the same opinion as it is in the power of a few determined negroes to seize on them at any moment & by that means become more than a match for all the militia in this part of the country, most of them being without any arms.*—I therefore beg leave to submit to you the propriety of stating this business to the Secretary at War with a request that he would give orders to Major McRae to sell, or loan them to the different militia companys on receiving sufficient security as they will certainly either way be of much more service & security to the country—in general.—The mail being just closing you'll excuse the hasty manner in which I have mentioned this business to you.—As I expect to be detained here 12 or 15 days longer should you have a

few minutes to spare I shall be glad to have a few lines from you on the subject & in the mean time, I am with regard.

Dear Sir

Your m. obt. svt.

ROBERT ADAM.

The Honble
William Benj. Grove Esq.
Fayetteville.

[3. WILLIAMSON TO—FINANCING A COPPER MINE.]

Private confidential.

NEW YORK, *29 April 1800.*

Dear Sir: There was a bill before Congress for establishing a Mine Company to work Copper Mines and that Bill as I have heard authorized the President to subscribe $50,000 in behalf of the U. S. as Members of the Company. The Bill was smothered in the Birth.

But the object as I am told comes forward again in a new Dress. The U. S. are to make a loan at six per cent to the Copper Mine company of $50,000 more or less for which, to be repaid *they are to get Security.* Certainly it is to be desired that Companies were formed and that Copper Mines were diligently wrought but if Government ever become Partners, they will infallibly be the milch Cow. * * * * * The proposition of making a Loan on *good* Security is certainly much more eligible less exceptionable than the other Proposition of a Partnership but if the Bill should pass I hope the President will be advised to be cautious lest bad security be offered. It is not improbable that the Lands belonging to the present Company & the Buildings on them & the Machinery will be offered as Security at the price they cost. That would be a perfect Bubble, for if the Company should fail, an Event much to be suspected, that Property would not sell for a sixth part

of the Cost. Be pleased to observe that as I usually lodge with Vicinity of the copper Mine and the Forge & on the road from one to the other, I am pretty well informed concerning the measure of Prudence with which the Business is conducted, and the measure of Candour with which some Representations have been made. I have seen too many of these large Companies foolishly and extravagantly managed, where they have proved insolvent. The Paterson manufacturing Company—sundry canal companies have vanished into smoak.

If the Bill should pass and a Loan should be made by the U. S. I am confident that the Money will not be repaid out of the funds of the Company unless they mend exceedingly in their measures. Wherefore I think you will not omit to advise the President to take Security in Lands which may be per se worth the Money.

I am with the truest Respect
Your obedt servt.
HU. WILLIAMSON.

P. S. I was much obliged
by the Dispatch with
which Mr. Caldwell sent me the
Draft.

[4. WILLIAMS TO MCHENRY—SHIPMENT OF HEMP.]

NEW YORK *29th Novr. 1800.*

Dear Sir: Our friend Collins of Edenton wrote me lately that all his People will be idle by Christmas unless I can send him a supply of Hemp. I could buy none here under $350 the Ton an extortionate Price. Jno Murray & Son had 40 Tons in Baltimore under the Care of J. J. Pleasants; that hemp they offered me at $300 the Ton and they gave me an order for ten Tons of it, the Quantity I required, which order I forwarded this morning by Post requesting

of them to ship the Hemp by first opportunity for Edenton to Mr. Josiah Collins. I wished to have it shipped in a Coaster belonging to Carolina and as few of those Vessels can stow so much as Ten Tons of loos Hemp I proposed to have two of them employed by sending five Tons in each. Wishing that one of them at least may be dispatched immediately. As the commission on such a Shipment is inconsiderable and neither the Messrs. Pleasants may have any knowledge of Mr. Collins I fear that the Hemp may not be shipped in Time and every Day that Mr. Collin's People are idle is equal to a loss of 25 or 30 Dlrs.

I have Business in Philada to attend to the printing of my History and I would go on to Baltimore to see the Hemp shiped but I am confined at present by a severe visitation of the Rheumatism that effects both my knees and both my Elbows.

I presume you have little Business and I hope you have no Trouble on Hands, will you be so good as enquire whether those Gentlemen (J. & J. Pleasants) are shiping the Hemp and speak to some young Man who will take the Trouble to Enquire along the Wharfs until he finds some Carolina Coasters who will take the Hemp.

In hopes that my Rheumatism will as usual recede I am not without Expectation of seeing Congress in the Course of the Winter at their new Residence. It is said by many here and believed by some that both you and Mr. Pickering propose a publication versus the President as soon as the Election is over.

I am with the utmost Consideration & Respect

Dr. Sir your most hble Servant

HU. WILLIAMSON

James McHenry Esqr.
Baltimore.

[5. HARRIS TO MCHENRY—WASHINGTON BIRTHDAY PARTY.]

BALTIMORE *3, March 1796.*

DEAR SIR: We had a select party to Dine of abt. 30, at Evans's in Celebration of the Birth Day of our much beloved President, it was proposed to ask none, who would not enjoy the Occasion with heart felt pleasure, which you know would totally exclude a Certain family & party in this Town, However it was thought best to give the names of two of them to Evans, to Call on them, to wit Patterson & Hollins which selection will make Smile, as they have been the only *two,* of the loving & beloved family, who gave Mr. Randolph as a Toast, since his apostasy; as they did not attend, I presume they took it in Dudging the neglect of the others or possibly they were too good Republicans, to pay so Kingly a Compliment, indeed they would have acted inconsistant, after having Toasted Robespierre in the Republcan Society with 9 Cheers on a former occasion. We had however an interruption of the Harmony of the Company for abt. half an Hour—a party of Young Gentlemen Dined at same time on the same occasion & in the same house, and being more ardent than our party, they got quite tipsy, by the time we got to our fifth Toast, when a deputation of three of them, came on an Embasy to exchange a Toast, we drank theirs with 3 Cheers;

When Mr. O Donnell, our Presdt. (fertile at Impromptu) gave a Toast Suited to Young men; immediately on their going to the Room it was thought rather an immoral toast to be given by the *Council of Antients* and a Deputation was Sent with one more Suited to the Occasion, but alas it was too late the Young folks were too far gone, to respect a Toast, they had often Drunken a Bumper, part of them considered it an insult, & three of them came up, to Demand Satisfaction of President, O. D; (who by the Bye would

make a better war than Peace Presdt.) they behaved extremely insolent, and in less than two minutes were kicked out of the Room, we could not do less, as it is our politics to support the Constituted authorities; there the business would have ended, as there really was a Majority of the Young Men, opposed to any Hostile measure, but our President formally Declared War after advising with Senator Oliver, & the District Attorney, the Troops were marshalled, & were all about Sallying forth, when Mr. D. Stewart, Col. Ramsey, G. Salmon & your Humble Servt. (being of the Military experience) thought it advisable to be of the rear-Guard, to secure the encampment, in case of any Disaster to the army under the *immediate* command *of the President,* which fortunately was not the case, as part of the enemy joined his Standard, and the residue were soon overcome. I have written this in a merry mood, & in much haste for your information & possibly some amusement.

I am Dr. Sir very Respectfully
Yr. Obedt Servt.
D. Harris.

Honble
James Mc Henry
Secry. War Department
Philadelphia.

[6. Mrs. Boyd (James McHenry's daughter) to her sister, Margaretta McHenry, and her brother, John McHenry—Fourth of July Celebration.]

Baltimore *14th, July 1809*—

My Dear Margaretta

How was the 4th. of July celebrated with you? Here we had a grand, and as the demo's said, general procession of (take notice) the democrats only, of all the different professions, arts, sciences, and trades carried on here—The chimney sweeps and brick makers excepted. The expense

gone to on the occasion must have been very great. Each trade had its appropriate stages drawn by horses on which some men were employed at their business. First came the farmers, ploughing, thrashing, harrowing, sowing &c. then the butchers, bakers, & millers, with the emblems of their respective trades. Next came the brewers headed by Marcus M'Causland before whom was rolled a hogshead of beer. Poor Marcus was so delighted that I was apprehensive in his eagerness to bow and smile to the ladies at the windows, he would get out of the ranks. I believe I cannot describe the order of the procession any farther, suffice it to say we had shoe makers busily engaged at their work, tin men. painters, stone cutters, taylors, sail makers, weavers, blacksmiths, &c. mounted on scaffolds on which were all the necessary apparatus for their respective occupations at which they affected to be working very diligently. A very beautiful little building something like the Union Bank, was carried through the streets which it was said cost 300 dollars, and a ship, a seventy four, which must have been still more expensive, very beautifully finished and well maned. One of the sailors mounted the top mast and furled the sail, so you may suppose it was pretty strong. They marched from the point thro' the City to Howards park where was a dinner prepared for 5000 persons. It consisted wholly of ham and corn beef. They behaved very orderly and returned again about 5 in the afternoon in the same order of march observed in the morning

Yours sincerely—A. Boyd.

July 15th. 1800

My dear John

In one of the Federal republicans is the following paragraph. "It is stated that the bench, bar, divines, and medical faculty joined in the procession. As far as two judges, nine attorneys, two divines, and 3 doctors answer the de-

scription it is true"—This reminds us of the Yankee Capt. who being hailed at sea and asked what the cargo was, replied "fruit and timber," upon examination the cargo was found to be birch brooms and potatoes; fruit and timber to all extents and purposes.—You see I have not forgotten that you like a little fun.—

A. Boyd.

[7. Mrs. James McHenry to her son, John McHenry—Flood in Baltimore.]

Baltimore *August 13th 1817*

My dear son—

Before this you have had a full detail of the distressing circumstances of last Saturday & never was such a flood known at Baltimore, all the lower parts of the City & the low lands here were laid under water so that boats had to be used to remove the inhabitants & what of their property could be saved from their houses. Many were drowned, it is not yet known how many—We were not witnesses of the awful scene, its description alone, is too shocking to be heard without shuddering—there is but one bridge left in Baltimore & not one they say within 20 miles round. Mr. McCausland, & a great number of others it is said are ruined. Mr. Patterson's loss is estimated at 35,000 Dollars—our house was much inundated, our cellars overflowed, & some trees in the garden, also part of Col. Ramsey's new fence laid down.

Your ever affectionate
M. McHenry

Mr. John McHenry
Care of Robt. Lowry Esqr.
York Springs
Adams County
Pennsylvania

(Part copied.)

LETTER OF REAR ADMIRAL SAMUEL PHILLIPS LEE TO SENATOR JAMES ROOD DOOLITTLE.

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY, OF MILWAUKEE, WIS.

[The following letter of the late Rear Admiral Samuel Phillips Lee to the then Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, at the time of its writing, a Captain in the United States Navy, gives some inside data and history concerning military matters during the Civil War hitherto unpublished.

Not only is the system of promotions in the Army and Navy, as then in vogue, considered and criticised, but other public matters are given sincere and thoughtful consideration, and the presentation of the writer's views is made in a free and unfettered manner, yet withal, in a thoroughly lofty and loyal spirit. He received the thanks of Congress for the valuable services which he gave his country during the Civil War.

The penmanship of the letter is excellent. The composition speaks for itself. The entire letter appears to have been prepared with caution and good judgment, such as one would be apt to expect of an officer who was solicitious to serve his country well, yet who was, confessedly, smarting somewhat under what he believed to be injustice to himself in the matter of the advancement of his place as a naval officer.

Milwaukee, Wis. DUANE MOWRY.]

Flagship Black Hawk, CAIRO, ILL'S,
February 20/65

MY DEAR JUDGE DOOLITTLE;

Your favor of Dec'r 30th reached me when up the Cumberland. The papers were immediately examined and the discharge of the minor, de Deimer, ordered. I paid like prompt attention to your communication of July 26/64 respecting the promotion of your clever constituent, W. Dunn, followed the matter up with the Navy Department, informed W. Dunn of his promotion and the interest you had taken in him, and of my devotion to you.

I began a long letter to you last summer respecting the Military and Naval situation before Richmond and Wilmington but was discouraged as to its completion from the complications initiated and conducted from personal grudge and family feuds, by my former subordinate Mr. Fox to

defeat and supercede me. I erroneously supposed that his professional dispositions would soon leave me at leisure even for a personal reply to your kind letter.

The occasion for Mr. Fox was found by him in my going from the Roads to the relief of Washington after the obstructions had been sunk in James river, and before my departure to look after the blockade of Wilmington which movement the department had suspended owing to the raid of the "Florida" on the coast; and, as I inferred, from its ordering me to send one (1) ironclad and three (3) gunboats (I sent three heavily armed onés) to Washington, to the danger of the National Capitol then assailed by the rebel army whilst telegraphic communication with the Roads was cut off. Before leaving the Roads I had made every practicable disposition for pursuing the Florida, and there was nothing to do there, but Washington was in great danger! Though Gen'l. Meigs was promoted for his services on this occasion I was censured for leaving my station and ordered to return to it without anchoring at Washington.

But Mr. Fox disapproved of my return from the Cape of Good Hope without the Vandalia which I did without orders to do so and against orders from the democratic administration to go to the East Indies. I thought that if it was their policy to have the ships sent away at such a crisis it was the part of the patriots now in power to have them brought back; and I had not forgotten your advising me at New York before I sailed that *if the public forts and arsenals were seized by the Secessionists they must be retaken at whatever cost of blood and treasure.* When I entered his room on my return Mr. Fox chided me with the remark that he did not know how the Secretary wd. take my return. Mr. Wells did not rebuke me then, but he subsequently told me it was irregular, and so it was—and that is the merit of it—for there was no other such example (in)

this war. Mr. Humphreys of the Naval Committee was present when Mr. Fox, following up his remark to me went in to see the Secretary, and Mr. H. was exceedingly cordial on this occasion of my interview to report the reason of my return.

To my explanation respecting the wanton rebuke for my coming to the defense of the Capitol last summer—though Mr. Welles himself verbally admitted to me (less) than ten thousand men could have taken Washington if the enemy had not lost opportunity by delay before the city—I received a most insulting reply over the signature of Mr. Welles, who I suppose sometimes hastily signs letters for the mail the language of which he has not read and which are written on a few words of general direction to the Assistant, telling me that I had acted in a "panic" (? that took me to, not from the enemy) and that neither I nor my *Transport* (referring to my then Flagship the "Malvern" and Admiral Porter's Flagship in his attack at Wilmington) could have been of any use at Washington in any contingency. It being time of War, and election time, influenced by Mr. Blair I made no further reply. The danger at Washington being over it was thought politic not to admit the fact but to rebuke the belief that any had existed. A few weeks before this event, after having from professional pride and expectation resisted sinking the obstructions, at my great peril, for had a casualty occurred to our ironclads from the rebel use of sneaking, low-pressure, rifle proof, steam torpedo barges, with one of which they had attempted to blow me up in the Minnesota I should have been denounced as a traitor—I consulted the Department as to General Butler's wish to sink in the river the obstructions which he had provided, and which Mr. Fox had approved as part of the plan of campaign, and which for three weeks I declined to sink. The department replied but gave me no instructions saying it had *confidence in my*

judgment. When Genl. Grant flanked round to the James he renewed his order to have the obstructions sunk, and then Mr. Fox came and ordered me to sink more vessels. I then told him I shd. not stay there but improve the opportunity to inspect and improve the blockade of Wilmington. Orders came to do so. I got a very remarkably kind letter from Mr. Fox referring to the successful destruction of blockade runners which attended my last visit to the locality.

Since leaving James river I have recollected and understood, Mr. Fox's speaking to me before General Grant of what he curiously called "our plan" (his & mine) to withdraw some of the Monitors from the James river. My official despatches show that I always objected to this, and asked for torpedo barges (to attack the enemy ironclads above the bar at once) and for a steam pump boat and a steam dredging machine. With the pumps I cd. quickly raise one or two of the vessels sunk in the channel—which had been sunk by auger holes, the place of which had been noted that they might be filled up and the vessels raised—, and with the dredging machine could soon and easily deepen, as had been done before the war, the small portion of the bar above the obstructions necessary to allow the ironsides to ascend as soon as the army should be ready to move and coöperate.

Instead of light draft, low pressure, steam torpedo barges, deep draft, noisy, high pressure tugs (like the one you rode the Sea on in the Roads) were sent to me to fit there (up James river) with torpedoes: but I was promised the steam pumps and dredging machine—a much more promising plan than the Dutch Gap Canal.

But the army needed many more men for a controuling movement, yet the approaching presidential election necessarily deferred another draft. Still political necessity, involving the life of the nation, required military success.

The time was coming for taking Wilmington, which was only twenty hours distant by rail from Richmond or from Charleston and Savannah.

The department knew two years ago my view that when the rebel forces at these places could be held off from Wilmington it should be taken by a joint Military and Naval attack. The able and accomplished Lieutenant General was now stubbornly assailing Richmond, whilst another great Captain was preparing even more completely to occupy the attention of the rebel forces in the South. Kind official terms having been broken with me, I was ordered to make Beaufort, N. C. my headquarters and not to return to Hampton Roads except in an emergency. Before leaving the Roads, Mr. Fox finding that all of his many light draft ironclads were irremediable failures & I realising that none of them could be sent to me to capture the rebel ironclad at Plymouth, I sent for Lieut. Cushing & found him willing (as Mr. Fox wished) to attempt to destroy that ram, & to avenge the death of his and my friend the gallant Lieut. Com. Flusser, whose life could not have been sacrificed had the light draft ironclads been supplied & for which I had made timely application.

My direction to destroy the ram with torpedoes had failed from want of the proper means, which I had not, and Fox's plan to take or destroy it with "double enders" had proved abortive.

Young Cushings plan was the old fashioned one, to attack with armed boats, board & burn. I suggested the torpedo steam barge attack, which he quickly agreed to in writing. I sent him to the Department to get the means, and though I continued (3) three months in the command of the Squadron yet from motives explainable by Mr. Fox, Lieut Cushing and the torpedo boat were not sent to me, but was kept back, & the result of the attack was used by

the inspired reporters to illustrate the change of Squadron Commanders.

When I got off Wilmington it was my effort to improve the blockade there. There were not enough vessels there for the duty, whilst most of these were unfit for the Service, being large, slow, or of deep draft, whilst some of the best from long service were worn out. I soon sent two of the vessels North for repairs, necessary to their efficiency, which could have been quickly made. Mr. Fox rebuked and detached the Fleet Engineer for recommending this though it was desired and approved by me. Again; with a fast captured vessel and favoring circumstances I captured a fast blockade runner, capable of making an efficient blockade for the summer season, and sent Comr. Crosby, a very clever officer, along in her, to Phila., the nearest navy yard and prize court port where she could have been discharged condemned turned over to the Navy and fitted, amply fitted, all in a week or ten days at farthest. When Crosby made known my object Mr. Fox was pleased to order him straight back & chose to say, and carry it out too, that the prize could not be got for a blockader under two or three months.

I made many applications for more and better vessels, and very many reports showing that the officers were vigilant, that the blockade was weak & a great many chases lost from want of proper vessels. The blockade running steamers were built for the business and were all that English skill and capital could accomplish. Fox's "double-enders," built for speed, were too weak to keep the sea. The blockaders were mostly converted freight steamers, and many of them, the most of them, the most indifferent of their kind. I had the best vessels repaired at Norfolk & Beaufort, where the means were limited, and just in time to add to the effective force of and to give reputation and profit to my successor. With poor means for two (2)

months I kept the rebel cruisers from making a renewed raid on our Commerce as they were anxious to do pending the fall elections. The Tallahasse had done this whilst I was up James river, but now, by my exertion, she and her consorts were kept inside the bars of Cape Fear river.

With more and better vessels than I had the rebel cruisers escaped soon after I was relieved, yet now there was no complaint from the press, the end for which it had been inspired was reached, & the change had been made. There were now plenty of reporters in the Fleet where there had been none before. Now the press and official reports and reporters vindicated when before they had all only assailed the blockade, which as to the bars (entrances) was not as close as it was under my command. But there being now no stint of good chasers, runners were overtaken and prizes made. A good blockade is when the bars are so closely blocked that nothing can get out. A profitable blockade is where the runners pass out with cotton and the right sort of vessels are provided to chase and capture them. Porter executed my plans of blockade except that the watch of the bars was not so well kept, nor by the responsible Divisional officers as I required, but this excepting the escape of the rebel cruisers was partially recompensed by successful chasing & profitable capture of cotton. Besides the threatened attack made them risky, & they ran the blockade on light nights. Porter, apart from his large captures of cotton up the Yazoo and the Red river and its tributaries—the only profitable results of those expeditions —makes as much or more prize money in (3) three months than I did in two years. I mention this because the official reports at Washington are very extravagant as to the great amount of my prize money & the small amount of his.

The law of July 2/64 provided making maritime prize of cotton captured in inland waters. Porter, who I am informed & believe captured previously 3 or 10 thousand

bales out here, left this command the next day, July 3rd for the East returning for a week in Sepr. to transfer this Squadron to his Fleet Captain. Large armies, aided by the Navy, had captured the rebel fortifications on the Mississippi and its tributaries—& there was no longer any prospect here for prize money, & but little if any for promotion, & my predecessor had enjoyed all the profits of his position here. When the war began he was a lieutenant, he left here a full rear admiral. We were made acting Rear Admirals in '62; mine was the older appointment, but he, I doubt not, had the choice of commands. There was plenty of professional prospect, for promotion and prize money, when he came here. There was none of either in the Atlantic Squadron when I was appointed to it. Now there was too much of both to be allowed to me, holding an acting appointment as I did, on the decline of border state influence. Fox, I infer, had opposed my appointment, as at that time he told me that none of my family or friends had interfered to obtain it & that he had proposed to Mr. Welles my then junior now Comodore Rowan, admitting at the time there were none above me fit for the command. I am doubtless indebted to the Secretary that injustice was not sooner done me. I accepted the command with hesitation but could not forego it in favor of a subordinate. You see what a start I had with my former assistant.

Even the great Nelson found and declared that his former subordinate Captain Trowbridge (an able officer) was, when a Lord of the Admiralty, *Master* Trowbridge to him, respecting not his views and wants on Service. There is human nature in it, even when the relations were otherwise good. General Butler exposes the fact that Porter's fleet commenced assembling in the Roads in August last. Now the General knew something about it, being against me (& for Farragut, as any one might be) since he asked me, on his accession to command, "what I would do with

a cotton loaded vessel that came out and delivered itself up under my guns." Whilst at Beaufort I received from the Department not a candid call for a plan to take Wilmington but about a dozen specific questions to answer on that subject. An immediate reply was required of me, & was made by the messenger gunboat, since from the Roads but not of my Squadron, the further necessity for whose speedy return was made by the breaking out of the small pox on board of it. I believe exception could not be taken to one point in that hurried reply, which was my opinion (given at a distance) that judging from the coast survey chart, the draft of heavy frigates of the Minnesota class, the elevation of their side guns in the ports, and the table of ranges, that these vessels could not get near enough in to attack the heavy ports advantageously. This impression was sustained by the experience of the first day's firing, when the projectiles from the frigates fell short. (I am credibly informed that Porter said he would have succeeded at Grand Gulf had he have known at that time that there was water enough in the bend to allow his vessels to take a raking, enfilading, position). But the "Ironsides" and 3 other ironsides were there, and the former alone had silenced batteries in Charleston Harbour. Porter had a mighty force compared with Farragut's at New Orleans. The former had the strength of the Navy. The defences of Cape Fear were attacked on my plan as shown in my replies and reports to the Navy Department. But instead of rendezvousing and remaining two months at the Roads I should have concentrated at a proximate point, drawing the vessels quietly from the different northern ports, and should have demanded the coöperation of a sufficient number of good troops, well led, to take the Federal point defences and Wilmington too, so as to cut off foreign and internal supplies to the rebel army at Richmond—the latter supplies were really the most important to be cut. (All the cotton in the

Confederacy can be sold, but with far more advantage to us than to the rebels, under the permit system here.)

Whilst on the coast I received a communication from the Department informing me that Admiral Farragut was to relieve me, and that I was to succeed that distinguished officer in the command of the West Gulf Squadron. The Judge had been decapitated, a clamorous newspaper call was made for Admiral Farragut, & his promised coming was encouraging & helped the canvas. I knew nothing to the contrary of this ostensible plan until the night of the 11th, when under orders from the Dept. I arrived at the Roads where I found a great Fleet assembled and, to my surprise, Admiral Porter with an order in his pocket, facetiously marked "confidential" on the envelope, notifying me that he was to take command of the Squadron & giving me 30 days leave. I was asked at the Roads by my Divisional officer how I liked the change. I replied not at all, but that it was the right and duty of the Department to chose its leading officers, and that my successor was, as I had always been free to admit, an able officer.

I had been 5 or 6 days at home, after long, trying, and faithful service when the Department required me either to take command of this Squadron or of the Philadelphia Navy Yard. In war time even this abandoned field of operations was the most important & I chose it. I came to it without complaint or loss of patriotism. But for the blundering movement of Hood—of whom I wrote to Genl. Thomas before the fight that he had more courage than conduct, & more action than judgment—it offered, as the Red River region is to be overlooked for a year, no other prospect than administrative duties of an extensive Squadron and the satisfaction of serving afloat though but to keep open army communications and protect a permit-trade. I am an admirer of Collingwood's maxim that all duty is

honorable, and certainly the command of any Squadron is so.

You may recollect, my dear Judge, that at the close of the last Congress, Mr. Fox (for Mr. Welles then told me it was not his act) had invented the new Navy rule that none should be promoted but the commander of a successful expedition. Under this nutmeg motion Farragut only was promoted for the capture of New Orleans, which was by far the most important naval achievement of this war, whilst the three small affairs in the Sounds of N. C. occasioned, through the Department, the thanks of Congress and the promotion of two good officers to be Admirals & another to be Commodore though the last belonged to the command of one of the others.

You may also remember Mr. Grimes' reply to Judge Trunbull that neither Bailey nor myself were to have a vote of thanks, or to be promoted except by the acting appointments we then held, pro tem. The vote of thanks would have continued us on the active list during life, a privilege which every officer had before the war. Mr. Fox then opposed and defeated the proposition of Judge Trunbull to repeal the pre requisite of a vote of thanks to promotion.

Now you observe that Mr. Fox has found another rule,—the ancient, honorable, and true rule—and that is to make more than a single promotion for a great victory.

Under the recent legislation a meritorious officer may be promoted within 50 numbers.

Since the war began one of my juniors (Porter) has been promoted to admiral, and three others (Rowan, Rodgers & Winslow) to be Commadores. I have commanded two Squadrons with success and fidelity for two years and a half, have been more under fire—exposed fire—than any of the party except Porter, and remain a Captain with those Senior to me on the list who have done no battle or other distinguished duty during this great civil war.

The length of this letter and its personal character will I fear cause you to appreciate my forbearance in not hitherto replying to your favor of last July. I rejoiced then to hear that you were well, and am happy now to know that Mrs. Doolittle and your beautiful daughter are with you this winter. I beg you to make my best respects and regards to them.

I have the honor to be, my dear Judge,
faithfully & respectfully yours,
S. P. Lee

P. S. I mean no further to trespass upon your indulgence in personal matters, but hope soon to submit to you some professional views respecting the importance of having a number of Navy Yards in the west, in view of the Monarchical countries contiguous to ours and the immense naval consequence in the future of the Gulf of Mexico (which shd. draw its ironslads from the West) over all the Seas of the earth.

L.

ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF DR. ALEXANDER GASTON.

[This letter was written at New Bern to Robert G. Moore, formerly of New Bern, in reply to a request to Judge William Gaston to criticise a sketch of Judge Gaston in the National Portrait Gallery, Volume II, prepared by Joseph Seawell Jones. The original belongs to Miss Rebecca Ashmore, who had it from her father, George S. Ashmore. The raid upon New Bern, by Major Craig, commandant at Wilmington, with his force of regulars and tories, occurred in August, 1781.

As usual, summaries and bracketed matter are by the Editors.]

DEAR SIR:

In answer to your note of last evening I have to state that the biographical sketch to which you refer was abridged, as I have been informed, from one written by Jos^h^. Seawell Jones Esqre, whose attachment to North Carolina and to North Carolinians is so well known. I have looked over it, and do not find many remarkable errors in it. Some I will notice.—My father, Dr. Alexander Gaston, was born at *Ballimena* in the County of Antwine (Antrim). I doubt very much his having served in the army of the Revolutionary War, as is stated in the sketch. If he had, I think that the fact would have come to my knowledge; and I have not before heard of it. It is possible however that Mr. Jones, who is remarkably assiduous in examining ancient documents, may have found some evidence to justify him in making the statement. The circumstances of his death are incorrectly set forth. I have so often heard them stated by my weeping mother that I can never forget them. An ineffectual attempt to check the march of Major Craig's detachment from Wilmington had been made, and no idea was entertained of further resistence to its entry into Newbern. Dr. Gaston was one of those who were peculiarly obnoxious to the Tories, and it was deemed advisable for

all such to keep out of the way of their ferocity. He had retired to his plantation on the South side of Trent, but misled by some information respecting the movements of the detachment, he returned to town on Saturday, and staid with his family until after breakfast on the next day. Rumors of the approach of the Tories, joined with the entreaties of Mrs. Gaston induced him then to revisit his plantation. He had quitted his house (which stood on the spot where the Bank of Newbern now stands) but a short time, when the mounted men, who consisted entirely of Tories, under the command of *Capt*^{n}. *Cox,* and formed the advance of the detachment, gallopped into town, and proceeded directly to the wharves. Mrs. Gaston, fearful that her husband might not have crossed the ferry, and unable to endure the agonies of suspense, rushed down the street to the Old County Wharf, and found them actually firing at him. He was in the ferry boat, at a very short distance from the shore, and alone, the boy who had been rowing the boat having jumped over board. She threw herself between him and the assailants, and on her knees, with all a woman's eloquence, implored them to spare the life of her husband. The captain of the savage band answered these cries by damning him for a "rebel" and his followers as "blunderers," called for a rifle, levelled it over her shoulder, and stretched him a corpse.

It is too awkward an affair for a man to make any remarks on his own biography for me to attempt it.—

I have hastily made these observations on what I believe the prominent inaccuracies in the published memoir because of your request, and pray you to believe me.

Respectfully and kindly yours,

(Signed) Wm. Gaston.

Decr. 17th 1834.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

I, Hugh Smith Thompson, Charter member of the Southern History Association from its organization April 24, 1896, till his death. (An authentic sketch by a member of the family.)

Hugh Smith Thompson, born in Charleston, South Carolina, January 24, 1836, died in New York City, Nov. 20, 1904, was the eldest son of Henry Tazewell and Agnes Smith Thompson. He was a great-grandson of Josiah (Swann) Thompson, of Virginia, a descendant of Sir Henry Swann, and also great-grandson of James Williams, captain in the Virginia line of the Continental Army. His grandfather, Judge Waddy Thompson, was for twenty-six years Chancellor of South Carolina and his uncle, General Waddy Thompson, was a distinguished member of Congress from South Carolina, Minister to Mexico under President Tyler, and author of "Recollections of Mexico."

Hugh Smith Thompson was graduated at the South Carolina Military Academy in 1856. Shortly after his graduation he was elected lieutenant and assistant professor in his alma mater and was subsequently promoted to a captaincy, filling the professorship of French and Belle Lettres. During the Civil War he served as Captain in the Confederate army and was engaged in the defence of Charleston and in the later operations against Sherman. In 1865 he was elected principal of the Columbia Male Academy. He found this school in a very low condition as a result of the war, but by his untiring energy raised it to a classical school of the highest order. When, by 1876, South Carolina had become the "prostrate State," her government having been for eight years in the hands of carpetbaggers and negroes, the people resolved to make a determined effort to rescue their Commonwealth. They nominated Wade Hampton for Gov-

ernor and they placed upon the ticket Hugh S. Thompson as their candidate for Superintendent of Education. The ticket was elected and the State redeemed. No one was more active in the work of redemption than Thompson. He canvassed the State and thrilled the people with the eloquence for which he afterward became so noted. He served three terms as Superintendent of Education and during his service rehabilitated the public school system of the State which had been practically ruined under reconstruction rule.

In 1882 he was offered the Superintendency of the South Carolina Military Academy and was informally elected to the presidency of the South Carolina College. The latter position he decided to accept, but before the election could be made formal he was nominated by the Democrats as their candidate for Governor and was elected by an overwhelming majority. Governor Thompson was a sincere believer in civil service reform and in his inaugural address pledged himself to a "civil service reform, which shall regard public offices as public trusts," thus conceiving an idea that subsequently because so popular by President Cleveland's expression, "a public office is a public trust." Despite the violent opposition that always attends efforts at reform, Governor Thompson carried out successfully the principle of reform in the civil service. His administration of all affairs of State was exceedingly able and was endorsed by his reëlection to the governorship in 1884.

Meanwhile, President Cleveland had been attracted by the courageous and honest course of Governor Thompson and in 1886 tendered him the position of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, which position he resigned the governorship to accept. Governor Thompson frequently acted as Secretary of the Treasury and in this position of great responsibility, as in all others he filled, he showed his admirable fitness. "It fell to him on more than one occasion, at times of

great financial crisis in Wall Street, to avert public panic by his coolness, foresight and business acumen." In 1889 President Cleveland appointed him Democratic member of the Civil Service Commission. But Harrison had already been elected President and the Senate, which was Republican, preferring to leave the filling of this important place to him, did not act on the nomination. However, President Harrison, acting upon the request of all the Democratic and a majority of the Republican Senators, reappointed Gov. Thompson to the position. On the Civil Service Commission Governor Thompson had for a colleague, Theodore Roosevelt. In 1892, Governor Thompson resigned from the Commission to become Comptroller of the New York Life Insurance Company, which position he was holding at the time of his death.

It is noteworthy that Governor Thompson never, in all his life, sought a position. When a young man he was made a professor in his alma mater, though not an applicant; without his knowledge or desire he was placed, first, at the head of the educational interests, and, then, made chief magistrate of his native State; thence, without his solicitation, he was called by the nation to direct its finances and to improve its civil service, and, finally, again without his solicitation, he was chosen to be a guiding mind in one of the greatest financial institutions of the world. But this is not surprising. Gentle and courteous, yet firm, courageous and honest, he was particularly fitted for affairs requiring executive and administrative ability. A companion of Presidents, yet a friend to every man who was worthy, he held the trust and affection of everyone as few persons have done. President Roosevelt on hearing of his death said: "I never met a braver, gentler or more upright man."

The wife who shared the joys and sorrows of life with him was Elizabeth Anderson Clarkson, to whom he was married on April 6, 1858. She was the daughter of

Thomas Boston Clarkson, of South Carolina, and the great-great-granddaughter of Thomas Boston, the noted Scottish divine. She, with five sons and two daughters survives.

In 1900 the degree of LL. D. was conferred upon Governor Thompson by the South Carolina College. For many years he was president of the Southern Society of New York. He was also a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, and the Reform and Century Clubs of New York City.

II. Francis White, Member of the Southern History Association from May 17, 1898, till his death.*

Among the prominent members of this Association, whom death has claimed during the past year, was Mr. Francis White, of Baltimore, Maryland, whose largest public service was in educational and philanthropic fields. He was the son of Miles and Elizabeth (Albertson) White, and was born in Perquimans county, North Carolina, March 24, 1825. After attending school at Westtown, Pennsylvania, he entered Haverford College, and was graduated in 1843. He then spent a few years in Philadelphia and New Orleans, where he began the thorough business training which prepared him for the efficient service which he afterward rendered for so many years.

About 1849, he removed to Baltimore, where he resided until his death, which occurred September 11, 1904, he then being in his eightieth year.

Mr. White was engaged in the flour and grain commission business until 1873, when he retired from active mercantile pursuits, but continued to be deeply interested in the business life of Baltimore, and devoted much of his time to financial, educational and philanthropic institutions. His mature judgment and ripe experience caused him to be much sought as an astute and capable adviser. His influ-

* An authentic sketch by a member of the family.

ence was wholesome in the financial world, where, on account of his early training, his wealth, and the corporations with which he was connected, he was a power. His conservatism made him a factor of safety in business interests and he often took occasion to warn his friends of various dangerous speculations.

Upon the reorganization of the Maryland Hospital for the Insane, in 1876, he was appointed by Governor Carroll a member of the Board of Managers, which position he retained during life, ever manifesting a deep interest in its administration and welfare.

The late Johns Hopkins, who died in 1873, made Mr. White one of his executors, and selected him to assume an important part in organizing both the Johns Hopkins University and Hospital, of which institutions, Mr. White was, at his death, the last surviving original Trustee. The importance of his personality to the development and growth of these institutions, in the welfare of which he was so vitally interested, cannot be overestimated. For more than a quarter of a century, he was Treasurer of the University, for which position he had been nominated by the founder, and served for a brief period as President of the Board of Trustees, but declined a definite election to that office. As Treasurer, he guarded the University from financial embarrassment at a critical period of its history, and on several occasions, he gave liberally of his means to assist the University in periods of its financial stress.

He was equally interested in the Hospital and Medical School, and gave much thought and personal attention to measures calculated to promote their welfare and prosperity.

In 1878, Mr. White was elected a Manager of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, his alma mater, which position he retained to the time of his death, and he contributed liberally towards most of the educational work among Friends.

He was a member of the Society of Friends, the second meeting of which Church in North Carolina was held in the dwelling of one of his paternal ancestors, a member of the Provincial Governor's Council in 1672, when George Fox and William Edmondson visited America. Though deeply attached to his own denomination, Mr. White was always glad to help on any lines of work, which would advance the Kingdom of Heaven, and was among the foremost in promoting the work of the evangelist, D. L. Moody, who always made his home at Mr. White's house, when in Baltimore.

Mr. White was firm and steadfast in his own convictions of what was right and proper, but always tolerant and considerate of the dissenting views of others. He was of a retiring disposition, but decided in his political opinions, being a staunch Republican, and also an earnest supporter of the Civil Service Reform Association, and of the Reform League. Having high ideals of personal and business life, Mr. White recognized the needs of his community as a standing claim upon his time and abilities. Among the various institutions with which he was prominently identified, in addition to those already mentioned, are the following: National Farmers and Planters Bank; Eutaw Savings Bank; Safe Deposit and Trust Company; Georges Creek Coal and Iron Company; Greenmount Cemetery Company; Baltimore Cemetery Company, and Maryland Historical Society. He also served in an advisory capacity to many charitable and philanthropic associations, and was a Trustee of Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends.

In 1854 Mr. White married Miss Jane E. Janney, daughter of the late Richard M. Janney, and a niece of Johns Hopkins, by whom he is survived. He also left three sons, Messrs. Miles White, Jr., Francis A. White and Richard J. White; his only daughter Miss Sarah E. White having died unmarried in 1886.

To his associates Mr. White showed a genial, kindly, humorous side of his nature which made their business relations most enjoyable. As a citizen who had exalted ideas of good government and civic virtue, he stood in the front rank. He had strong mental endowments and best of all, a rare treasury of common sense; his business capacity was of the highest order, and his judgment of men was exceptional. He displayed a broad grasp of affairs, showing familiarity with the good things of literature. He was ever ready to respond to any deserving call made upon him, yet the number and extent of his benefactions will remain unknown, for he delighted to give in such a manner that few were aware of it. His house was frequently the meeting place of those interested in the advancement of scientific, literary or kindred subjects.

One well acquainted with him said, "his was a complete life full of goodness, leaving a trail of light behind. Above all, he was a modest man, and never was a thing done by him for show or ostentation. It was a solid, simple, true, unassuming, strong and sincere life."

REVIEWS.

History of Andrew Jackson. Pioneer, Patriot, Soldier, Politician, President. By Augustus C. Buell. Illustrated. Two volumes, pp. VIII+432, 427, New York. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904.

This latest biography of "Old Hickory" was written by the author of that most readable Life of Paul Jones. The manuscript of these volumes had just been sent to the publishers when the author died. Consequently, the work suffers in some details from want of revision, the publishers having printed it almost without change. In spite of many defects it is much the best life of Jackson that has been published. The author was an admirer of the Old Hero and has given a sympathetic account of his subject, while not endeavoring to condone the faults of the great frontiersman. For the first time Jackson is seriously treated by one who understood the temper of the frontier of the early 19th century. Other biographers of Jackson knew little more about conditions of life in frontier Tennessee than about an African village. Buell, descended from an old frontier family, carefully acquainted himself with almost every foot of the Jackson country, talked with those who had known Jackson and his friends, collected reminiscences from old people, and ransacked his own family records for material bearing upon the time and person. Not much space is given to the public problems with which Jackson had to deal; the story aims to relate the Jacksonian method of doing things. Unfriendly biographers who are considered important, come in for a rap now and then—especially Parton; it may be remarked that Sumner is not mentioned. The author treats Jackson's enemies with as much consideration as a friendly biographer ever treats such people. Jackson's military rep-

utation is proven not to have been based on luck, but on hard work and long waiting. The importance of the Battle of New Orleans is properly emphasized. Jackson's life as a planter receives more attention than is given by other writers. Those two very serious episodes in Jackson's life —his marriage to a divorced woman, and his defense of Mrs. Eaton—receive at the hands of Buell their first satisfactory treatment.

The author probably relied too much upon reminiscences of old friends of Jackson, which he gathered in 1874; but upon these he based no serious deductions; they are merely quoted at length. All sources of information seem to have been consulted except the Jackson manuscript collection in the Library of Congress. There is a deal of superfluous comment. The style is that of a newspaper special correspondent. The whole story is as entertaining as a good novel.

W. L. Fleming.

West Virginia University,
Morgantown, W. Va.

Letters from an American Farmer. By J. Hector St. John Crévecoeur. Reprinted from the Original Edition. With a Prefatory Note by W. P. Trent and an Introduction by Ludwig Lewisohn. Boards. Octavo, pp. XXXVII+355. Price $1.50 New York: Fox, Duffield & Co., 1904.

From its discovery America has exercised a fascination over Europeans, and numerous books and pamphlets descriptive of American institutions and people have been written to satisfy the desire of the Old World for information about the New World. *The Letters from an American Farmer* was one of the most popular of such books and, after more than a hundred years, is now reprinted. It was first published in London in 1782, in Paris in 1784, and in

Philadelphia in 1793. Two editions were printed in England and two (enlarged and revised) in France at a period when Europe was most interested in America—just after the Revolution. The present edition is a reprint of the original London edition, with some letters from Crévecoeur added in an appendix.

The author was born in Normandy, educated in England, and when a young man came to America and became a farmer in Pennsylvania and New York. Evidently affected by the French philosophy of the 18th century, he finds in America a political, social and economic paradise, where there are no classes, not much government, plain living and high thinking, where opportunities are abundant and none need be poor and oppressed, and where all the common people are philosophers. Over the rough frontier society he casts the light of his imagination and causes all to appear as the ideal. It has been said that Crevécoeur's farmer was no more real than the ideal red man of Voltaire. His imagination was fatal to some of his countrymen, five hundred families of whom, misled by his accounts of an earthly paradise, came over to perish in the Ohio forests.

In his travels he found his ideal community at Nantucket, a whale fishing community, and the sum of evils at Charleston, South Carolina. A mild climate and fertile soil, he maintains, will produce a weaker race of people than a harsh and cheerless country—hence the superiority of Nantucket over Charleston. True to his philosophy he could not endure slavery or slaveholders. We are indebted to his account of Charleston for that famous yarn about the negro left to die in a cage, as a punishment. Lawyers thrive on the troubles that they create, he believes, and he dislikes the whole tribe. The snake yarns are good enough to come from a western cowboy. The last chapter, on the distresses of a frontiersman in the Revolutionary War, is probably the

most valuable, historically, of all. Here Crévecoeur relates his own experiences.

The Letters are not valuable to the historian except as a manifestation of the "Rights of Man" philosophy of the revolutionary eighteenth century. As pure literature they have a greater value and fully justify the reprinting.

WALTER L. FLEMING.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY,
Morgantown, W. Va.

THE JOURNEY OF CORONADO, 1540-1542. Translated and edited with an introduction by George Parker Winship. New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1904. D, pp. XXXIV+251, with map and 1 illus. Cloth, $1.00.

This is one of The Trail Makers series projected by the Messrs. Barnes, and of which Prof. John Bach McMaster is the consulting editor. A reprint of Paul Allen's (Nicholas Biddle's) edition of the Lewis and Clark Expedition has already appeared.

The present volume is a reprint of Mr. Winship's excellent edition of the various documents on the Coronado Expedition, first translated by him and published in the 14th Report of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1896. That edition has long been out of print. In the former edition the original Spanish and the English translation appeared on opposite pages. In the present book many passages in the translation have been revised and corrected. In other respects the present is a close reprint of the 1896 edition, even to the extent of including the notes and the page references to that edition.

There are included in the present book, Castaneda's narrative, the letter from Mendoza to the King, Coronado's letter to Mendoza, the Traslado de las Nuevas, the Relacion del Suceso, Coronado's letter to the King, Jaramillo's Nar-

rative, Hernando de Alvarado's report and the testimony concerning those who went on the expedition.

Thus there is given in compact and convenient form the original material on an expedition which added immensely to the extent of New Spain and opened a new field for adventurers and missionary enterprise.

Mr. Winship is a leading authority in this field; his editing is well done and his notes are scholarly. There is no index.

GASS'S JOURNAL OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION. With an analytic Index and Introduction by James K. Hosmer. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1904. O. pp. LIII+298. Cloth, $3.50.

Sergeant Patrick Gass was the last survivor of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Born in 1771 he lived till 1870. His journal anticipated that of his superior officers by seven years. On publication it was immediately pirated, was translated into French and was reprinted as late as 1847. Gass is the only one of the humbler members of the expedition of whom our knowledge is full, his biography having been published as long ago as 1858. The present edition of his Journal is reprinted from the third edition issued in 1811. There are fac-similes of the original title page, the rude wood cuts are reproduced and there is a portrait of the author.

The introduction by Dr. Hosmer deals mainly with the career of Gass and with that of his fellow explorers of many of whom we know but little. There are no modern notes and no editing in the exact sense. The index is new. The type is large, open and attractive.

BURNABY'S TRAVELS THROUGH NORTH AMERICA, with introduction and notes by Rufus Rockwell Wilson. New York: A Wessels Company, 1904. O. pp. 265. $2, net.

This is the first of a series of reprints of Source Books announced by this company to be edited by Mr. Wilson. Others announced for early publication or as in preparation are Heath's *Memoirs,* Canfield's *Legends of the Iroqouis,* Moulrtie's *Memoirs,* etc. The company are thus rendering an important service to American historical scholarship.

The present edition of Burnaby is a reprint of the third edition published in 1798. The author was a clergyman of the English church who landed at Norfolk in 1759 and went northward to Boston. His religious and political feeling color his reports, but he was still animated by a spirit of truth and justice. Appendixes deal with plants and animals, shipping, Indians, Lord Fairfax and a "Diary of the Weather" for 1760, 1761 and 1762, in which the record of the thermometer, the direction of the wind and character of the day are indicated. A recent number of the *Monthly Weather Review* mentions a meteorological record kept in Maryland, Sept., 1753, to Aug., 1754, earlier, but not so long continued.

The Notes added to this edition by the editor are not extensive and evidently required little investigation. The typographical form is all that could be desired and an index has been added.

Reminiscences of Peace and War. By Mrs. Roger A. Pryor. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904. Pp. XIV, 402.

Mrs. Pryor's Reminiscences deal chiefly with war. The days of peace recalled were the eight years preceding the outbreak of hostilities when the very air men breathed seemed surcharged with the forces of the coming storm. By the close of 1860 the storm began to burst in all its fury. Suavity of manner and polite discourse were replaced by coldness and incivility. But men still strove to avert the coming disaster. Braving the storms of a December night

General Carr, already beyond the allotted span of life, arose from his bed and went to the house of Mr. Pryor to beg him to do his best to save the State. But the train was laid and South Carolina lighted the fuse. The first news of secession was announced to President Buchanan by Mrs. Pryor in a drawing-room on the night of a wedding.

Mr. Pryor went home after the inauguration of Lincoln and worked for the secession of Virginia. This accomplished, he at once offered his sword. Mrs. Pryor "enlisted" also. She could not follow her husband in the field throughout the war, but bravely did she and all other great-hearted women of the South spend their energies for the land they loved, whether working with delicate fingers for the soldier boys or struggling on a bitter winter's night to keep the wolf from the door of a miserable hut which had replaced the old time mansion, there was always the same sublime, unfaltering courage.

But not all was shadow. Men fought, but they also loved and laughed. It is for the side-lights thrown upon this inner life that Mrs. Pryor's book is chiefly valuable. We learn how men and women accustomed to the luxuries of life, ate their crusts and drank the one thing which was plentiful, water, and never regretted the step by which they had brought this upon themselves. Of that other life, the life of the man who had always been poor, but loved his country none the less, we see but little here. The son of that man, who has a larger outlook than the old regime ever could have given him, will read Mrs. Pryor's book and thank God that the nobility of that class did not consist wholly of clothes and manners.

Anecdotes abound, some humorous, some pathetic, others serving merely to amuse, others to illuminate. One in particular throws another light on the character of a man whose fame grows from day to day. "Colonel," said General Lee

to a subaltern, "when I lose my temper, don't let it make you angry."

The expression "irrepressible conflict," commonly ascribed to Seward as the author, was first used, it seems, by Mr. Pryor in the *Richmond Enquirer* in 1856, a fact to which Mr. Lincoln called attention in September, 1859.

The book is illustrated with a beautiful miniature of Mrs. Pryor and several portraits. The busy man had better not pick up these Reminiscences, unless he has several hours to spare.

A Year in Europe. By Walter W. Moore, D. D., LL. D. Richmond, Va.: The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1904. O. pp. XVI+II.+9—366. Cloth, $1.40.

Dr. Moore, who is McCormick professor of Oriental literature in the Union Theological Seminary of Virginia, spent 1902-3 as a sort of sabbatical year in travel in Europe. He visited England and Scotland, crossed the channel to France, took a view of Holland, passed up the Rhine and over the Alps, and spent considerable time in Italy. He returned home by way of Gibraltar and the Azores.

The author is a man of broad reading and culture, well versed in church history, of a critical and observant turn of mind and thoroughly competent to pass intelligent judgment on the many institutions with which he came in contact. Being a minister and a Presbyterian he quite naturally pays most attention to matters pertaining to the churches and to religion. He discusses the new Anglican education bill, English and Scotch preachers, universities, the Papacy and its influence on Italy and on the religious life of the world. It is unnecessary to say that Dr. Moore's views on the latter subject are all that could be asked by the most extreme Protestant. But it does not appear that his criticisms are uncharitable or ungenerous, nor are they confined to the Roman church. He finds many things worthy

of correction in the Anglican church, and thinks that that great organization is rapidly hastening to its fall; but he recognizes fully the good in these churches and does not spare his own.

In some cases the author has drawn from materials other than his own observations, his object being at times not originality, but accuracy and fullness of information. This is the more praiseworthy as the material first appeared in the form of letters in church papers. While the desultory and chatty form has been retained in the book Dr. Moore has nevertheless made a very entertaining and instructive volume. There are many illustrations and an index.

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF THE SOUTH. By Clifton Johnson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904. Pp. XV, 362.

Mr. Clifton Johnson, of Hadley, Massachusetts, is one American whose ability to enjoy country life has not been spoiled by the demands of our commercial civilization. His idea of seeing a country is to avoid the towns, manufacturing centers, and great country seats, and to ramble among the fields and woodlands, stopping at small villages and isolated farmhouses. Keenness of perception and a well-developed sense of humor enable him to collect interesting facts and humorous anecdotes regarding the middle and lower classes in the country districts. Those who have read his descriptions of country life in England, Scotland, Ireland, France and New England will gladly welcome a volume devoted to the South. There are fifteen separate chapters or essays, each complete in itself. Most of the material contained in them has already been published in *Outing, The Booklovers' Magazine, Woman's Home Companion, The Boston Transcript, The Springfield Republican, The Outlook,* and other periodicals.

The author has prepared himself for this work by an ex-

tensive trip through the seaboard States from Virginia to Florida and westward into Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama. There are descriptions of life on the Florida coast, in the mountains of Tennessee, in the blue grass region, among the Georgia crackers, among the villagers of Harper's Ferry. His final chapter on "The Niggers" is hardly as rabid as one might expect from a New Englander, although at the same time he makes it clear that he does not sympathize with the Southern attitude, and in fact that he does not understand their attitude at all. The book is readable, is well printed, and handsomely illustrated from photographs taken by the author himself. If for no other reason, Southern people should read it to see what an intelligent Northerner thinks of our race problem.

W. Roy Smith.

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Bred in the Bone. By Thomas Nelson Page. Illustrated [8 illustrations]. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. MCMIV.

In this collection of seven stories Mr. Page writes of the characters, in the delineation of whom he is always at his best—the well-born ladies and gentlemen and the "old-time" negroes of Virginia; and of the old Commonwealth, in setting forth the spirit of which he has no superior. He writes with the ease, the graceful, flowing style, of which he is so distinctly a master. He, moreover, writes with an *abandon* that comes with the full maturity of his unusual powers. But this is the best that can be said of the book. In substance it bears the marks of a *tour de force*—the author's soul does not seem to be behind his words. The reader misses the sincerity of passion that he finds in "In Ole Virginia" a book to which, from year to year, he returns, knowing that each time he will reach depths which he has not reached before. In Mr. Page's power over words, in his

grasp of the general excellencies of style, he has gone well forward since he wrote "Marse Chan;" but in strength of feeling, in the clear, calm gaze into the depths of human hearts, he has made no advance. He could hardly write a book that would not be worth serious attention; but a reader who knows the author's power, cannot help regretting that "Bred in the Bone" is not worth more.

PROFESSOR GEORGE S. WILLS.

THE LAW OF THE LAND. * * * A novel by Emerson Hough. * * * With illustrations [6] by Arthur I. Keller, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Publishers. n. d. [Copyright 1904.]

Not much can be said in commendation of this book. The author has chosen the raw material of a good story, and one that would represent the point of view of a goodly number of people in the Southern States on the "race question." The daughter of a Frenchman associated with New Orleans and St. Louis; a Mississippi planter, who we hope does not represent his class; an overflow of the Mississippi River; and some riots between negroes and whites, which led to the disfranchising law of the State of Mississippi, make the foundation. But the author has not constructed his plot well . Too often the thread of the story is dependent upon suggestions, innuendoes, and veiled hints that do not give the imagination a clue which it can follow with certainty. The men and women are not clearly drawn or satisfactorily differentiated. They are caricatures of the types they represent, rather than characters. Much of the book is a homily on the idea that a negro must be made to "know his place;" and, except as a mirror of the views of many people on this subject, is not worth serious consideration.

PROFESSOR GEORGE S. WILLS.

ORDER NO. 11; a tale of the Border. By Caroline Abbot Stanley. With illustrations [5] by Harry C. Edwards. New York: The Century Co., 1904.

After reading the "Law of the Land," one finds relief and a growing enthusiasm as one reads on into "Order No. 11." This is a story of border life in Missouri and Kansas just before the Civil War, during that conflict, and immediately after it. Here are winningly and wholesomely described the easy, happy, gentle life of the masters and mistresses on their farms and in their households with their "servants"—the latter more of children than slaves. With the clash of opinions, as the questions which led to the war absorbed the thought of the country more and more, and drew a hard line between those who sympathized with the Union and those who favored disunion, the life became more tense, more nervous, and less centred within itself. The bitterness of the strife in which social jealousy had no little to do with transforming the blooming, teeming grand prairie into a waste, across which the traveler could find his way by means of "Jennison's Tombstones," is set forth from the point of view of one who has lived through the experience, but has risen above the passions engendered. The new life—of pioneer simplicity—entered upon by the generation of boys and girls whom the war has made into men and women, is full of hope because freed from the shackles which slavery cast about the master more than the slaves. So clearly is all of this set forth that Order No. 11, is necessary to one who would understand in all of its aspects the border warfare. No less successful has the writer been in her delineation of the conscientious, but tactless, New England school teacher, who meant so well and did so ill.

The style is clear, straightforward, and illuminating. Many times a chapter is packed into a sentence: "*Never seed any waffles befo'!* My Lawd! Whar she raised?" The book is pervaded by a dispassionate, judicial spirit,

which has no cause to defend nor cause to justify, but which aims only to show the border life as it was. It is, therefore, worthy of a place with the important books growing out of the Civil War.

PROFESSOR GEORGE S. WILLS.

MY LADY OF THE NORTH. The Love Story of a Gray-Jacket. By Randall Parrish. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 8 vo., pp. 362.

In this romance of the Civil War the author, as might be expected of a western man, has made a radical departure from the cut-and-dried plot so frequently found in recent fiction dealing with the struggle between North and South. The heroine is not a high-strung Southern girl who is wooed and won by a Federal officer—a theme so often exploited by later novelists—but is a charming young widow from Connecticut, loyal to the Union and yet loved by a Confederate captain of cavalry! The narrative abounds in thrilling adventures and complicated situations from which the hero always manages to extricate himself with added glory and a new wound. In fact, this officer is wounded so often that one wonders whether enough is left of him to surrender at Appomattox. The introduction of two mountain whites into the story gives it a vein of humor that is quite essential when so many intense scenes crowd upon one another.

To that class of readers who prefer a novel with plenty of action and excitement this volume will commend itself most strongly. It is well written, and there is not a dull or uninteresting page in the book. A neat cover and colored illustrations add to its attractiveness.

"A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools" by a committee of the New England History Teachers' Association outlines a four years' course of work in history as follows:

1. Ancient History. 2. Mediaeval and Modern History. 3. History of England. 4. History of the United States. In the first three outlines there is little to criticise, if one grants that a syllabus is necessary in the teaching of history to high school classes. The book lists are well chosen, though undoubtedly some of them are very dry and others are technical and beyond the comprehension of the average secondary school student, in New England or elsewhere. Only the most important topics are emphasized. The introductions contain practical suggestions to teachers. We are told that the text book recitation system "must cease." No doubt it has its defects, but one thing is certain—the new methods do not send to college students as well trained as under the old system. They have a lot of miscellaneous mis-information and no training.

Neither South Carolina nor Mississippi nor any other classic home of sectionalism could have produced a more "provincial" outline than the last one—on the United States. The book lists and references would lead one to think that the only history made or written came from New England. The South and West and the Middle States are merely adjuncts to that preëminent section. According to the table of percentages five per cent. of time is to be devoted to the Southern colonies and the same to the middle colonies while colonial New England requires ten per cent. The West escapes with about three per cent. devoted to expansion and slavery. The keynote of the work is struck in this sentence of the introduction: "The history of New England is the history of the American Nation in miniature." This is no more true of New England than of the West or of Virginia. On the nineteenth century period the general attitude may be divined from the following interpretation found in the introduction: "The next period, 1844-1859, marks the desperate attempt of the South to gain new territory for slavery, first by an unjustifiable war with Mexico, and then by

breaking down the policy of compromise which had obtained for thirty years."

In the way of suggestion the Syllabus will be of value to teachers. It is published by D. C. Heath & Company, Boston, at $1.20. The separate outlines for the use of students are sold at 15 cents each.

In 1893, at the time of the World's Fair, the first edition of the A. L. A. Catalog was published. The St. Louis Exposition furnished the occasion for a revised Catalog. The first edition contained about 5,000 titles; the revised about 8,000. The compilation is meant to serve as a guide in the collection of a small library. Melvil Dewey edited the work which was done by the New York State Library and the Library of Congress and published by the latter. In Part I the titles are classed according to the decimal system; Part II is a dictionary catalogue. Of the 7,520 books, 2,678 are History, Biography and Travel, with 604 and 319 respectively in the allied subjects of Sociology and Religion. Literature, including fiction, has 2,227 volumes.

To confine criticism to the section on History, it may be stated that the fundamental complaint is the old one; that the cataloger often knows only the outside of books. His or her knowledge is not the best, though usually the most available. The list is founded too much on the basis of popular demand. It aims to follow rather than to guide opinion. There is a marked preference for the insignificant books of well known publishers over important works published outside of the charmed circle. The list is not well balanced but rather proportioned to the number of books published. There are too many titles on Washington, Lincoln and Grant, and too many less important people receive no notice, though space is found for books of such insignificance as Higginson's Contemporaries and Hale's and Boutwell's Reminiscences. There is nothing of Yancey, Toombs, Davis, Stephens, etc.,

but an excess on the other side. There is the same fault in works of travel. Those on the East and the West are well selected; the South is described by such books as Julian Ralph's *Dixie* or Warner's *Studies.* There are too many titles on Indians. Mrs. Earle's admirable books are all listed, but there is no attempt to list like books for other sections. Space is precious, of course, but there is no excuse for important omissions when room can be found for three school histories by Channing and all the works of Hart. Many books of little value might be omitted in order to include better ones. To the uninitiated some queer things happen in the classification: DuBois' Souls of Black Folk and Washington's Future of the American Negro are classed under "Colonies and Immigration." John Brown is classed as a "philanthropist."

In the valuation of the history books, the "Literature of American History" and the *Nation* are followed. The dyspeptic opinions of these two authorities may account for some of the omissions.

The catalog can be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., at 25 cents in paper; 50 cents in cloth.

In his *Foreign Commerce of Japan Since the Restoration* (Johns Hopkin University Studies, Baltimore, Md., Pages 79) Yukimasa Hattori has given us a very capable summary of the wonderful trade development of his country during the past third of a century, when the total volume of exchanges with the outside world leaps from 27,000,000 yen to 500,000,000 yen. After a comprehensive historical sketch our author analyzes the exports and imports, pointing out the growth of the most important products. The chief articles coming in are the raw and manufactured textiles and food stuffs, with machinery. Scarcely any wool is found in the empire and the cultivation of cotton has suffered a de-

crease of more than 50 per cent. in the last two decades. Japan pays for these imports largely by such agricultural products as silk and tea, and by artistic wares and some minerals. But the balance is considerably against the country. Mr. Hattori attempts an explanation as of course he is too well trained to accept the ordinary belief of the smug ignoramus that the custom house figures are a real evidence in themselves of wealth conditions. Several important considerations does he bring to our notice in the course of his work. This remarkable change in the life of a people has brought about a great rise in prices, jumping from the index figure of 113 to 178 in less than ten years. There has also been a marked relative decline in the position of England and a still more signal advance in that of Germany. Indisputable facts could hardly be more flattering to the insight of President D. C. Gilman, who pointed out nearly 50 years ago how Germany was surpassing England in technological education. Mr. Hattori refers to the low standard of commercial morality among his countrymen. He also calls attention to the drift towards city congestion of population. To judge from the footnotes he is thoroughly westernized. In this monograph on Japan by one of her citizens there is scarcely a single reference to Japanese authority, but nearly every page indicates reliance on English and American data, generally the U. S. Consular reports. No better testimony to the efficiency of those representatives abroad can be discovered than this wholesale acceptance of their views by an oriental. It seems superfluous to speak of Mr. Hattori's English, as no one would ever suspect it came from a foreign pen.

The American Book Company has issued a revised edition of the *History and Government of West Virginia*, by Virgil A. Lewis, first published in 1896. Some errors in the first part have been corrected and the later chapters brought up to date.

"The Morals of Jesus" better known as *"The Jefferson Bible,"* has been published by Congress. The original manuscript is in the National Museum and consists of parallel columns, in four languages—Greek, Latin, French and English—of text clipped from the New Testament and pasted on the blank pages of a scrapbook. Jefferson omitted what he considered extraneous or unnecessary matter. The table of contents is in his own handwriting. The volume just issued is a photographic reprint and aims to be an exact reproduction of the original. The binding also is in imitation of the original. An introduction giving the history of the compilation is contributed by Dr. Cyrus Adler.

Dr. Thos. M. Owen, Director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, has compiled a *Check List of Newspapers and Periodical Files* in the Library of the Department. This list is of course most rich in Alabama materials and covers about 750 volumes. (Bulletin, No. 3, Montgomery, Ala., 1904. O. pp. 65.)

Through the influence and work of Dr. Owen the Alabama Library Association has been organized, of which he has become the official head. He has also sent out a circular urging survivors to prepare compilations of narrative histories or historical sketches of Alabama commands in the Civil War, as has already been done in Tennessee and North Carolina.

On the last year's work Dr. Owen has an excellent report to make. He has received transcripts from the British archives and transcripts of the letters of Andrew Jackson, the originals being in the Library of Congress. The valuable collection on southern history with many autographs made by Dr. J. L. M. Curry has been given to the State; an unpublished history of the State by A. B. Meek has been discovered and the greater part of the materials on which Albert J. Pickett based his history of Alabama has been found and placed in care of the department.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Southern Historical Magazines.—It is much to be regretted that the *American Historical Magazine,* Nashville, Tenn., organ of the State Historical Society, ceased to appear after the October issue of 1904. It made available very valuable material during its nine years' life, but historical periodicals must generally be either endowed or subsidized. This makes the fifth venture of the sort to succumb in the South within the last five years, the others being in W. Va., N. C., Ala., and Ky. But there are stout hearts and optimistic temperaments still in the section. It is announced that a *Magazine of Southern History* is to be started as a private undertaking in Montgomery, Ala. Glistening bones in a glaring desert seem to be no deterrent to other caravans.

South Carolina Historical Commission.—After efforts extending over several years, a regular State Historical Commission has been established by the legislature at the session this winter. It is modeled after the highly successful one in Alabama, providing for an executive official at $1,000.00 annually to work under the direction of the Commission, who serve without pay.

PUBLICATIONS

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VICE-PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON.

BY DAVID M. DEWITT,

Kingston, N. Y.

(Continued.)

II.

The reader of the foregoing sketch is now prepared to judge intelligently the various explanations of the conduct of the Vice-President on the day of his inauguration. The man himself betrayed no consciousness that he had violated any of the properties of the occasion. It was observed that, in passing from the Senate Chamber to the eastern portico and while the ceremony there was in progress, he talked unconcernedly with the dignitaries around him, as though quite satisfied with the manner in which he had discharged his share in the performance. And, as a matter of fact, the incoherencies and familiar colloquialisms that disfigured his address and disgusted his hearers were but exaggerations of a mode of speech which, judging from the extracts we have given, was habitual with him. His family likewise, repelled with silent scorn the slightest intimation that its beloved head had been guilty of any serious indecorum. On the other hand, the shock given to the

country at large by the report of the incident was scarcely less overpowering than that experienced by the spectators themselves. The opposition press seized on the scandal with professional avidity and painted the scene in the most glaring colors. The Republican organs, for their part, assumed either an apologetic or a defiant tone; alleging illness as the cause of the suspicious exhibition, or drugs administered by a conspiracy of disloyalists. The masses wondered and suspected; the witnesses of the spectacle whispered or shook their heads in private; while the party managers were stricken with remorse over the substitution of Johnson for Hamlin at the nominating convention. On Monday, Henry Wilson, feeling that he could not let such an opportunity "to improve the lesson" go by, introduced a resolution banishing liquors from the Senate wing of the capitol, the reading of which, we are glad to be able to state, the Vice-President did not hear; and further speech was cut off by the adoption of the resolution *nem. con.* The Governor of Connecticut, in his proclamation appointing a day of fasting and prayer, enumerated among the reasons for national humiliation, that "the oath of fidelity to the Constitution had recently been taken with a stammering tongue in the presence of the American people." "Thad" Stevens, the leader of the House of Representatives, who proclaimed Andrew Johnson an alien on the floor of the Republican National Convention, went about muttering threats of impeachment and removal. For a few days, the air was filled with hostile comments flying from almost every quarter. The special session of the Senate occupying the following week, the Vice-President did not attend; and it was stated in the public press that, suffering under a distressing physical ailment, he had gone to the country seat of Francis P. Blair, near Washington, on the invitation of that old Jacksonian, to take a few days' rest. An authoritative statement, emanating from the committee that con-

ducted the Vice-President-elect from his hotel to the capitol was circulated to the effect that, for some days before the inauguration, he had been laboring under an attack of this same ailment to which he was subject at intervals, and that just before his entrance into the Senate Chamber, a sudden seizure threatening to incapacitate him altogether for the discharge of the coming function, a strong stimulant was administered which, co-operating with physical weakness and the excitement of the occasion, disturbed the poise of his mental faculties. This account, at first received with a shrug of incredulity, soon came to be accepted as the actual truth, and would never have been questioned in the future had it not been for the deadly rupture between the majority in Congress and the President. For, no one acquainted with the career of Andrew Johnson, as we have given it above, could continue to believe that the scene in the Senate was due to voluntary or habitual excess. Johnson may have partaken of ardent spirits with the freedom customary among the people of the border States; but he could not have kept so long the esteem of the sturdy inhabitants of East Tennessee, had he fallen into excesses which either impaired his usefulness or destroyed the dignity proper to the official positions he continually held. Neither could he have retained the respect of his associates in the House and in the Senate nor gained the confidence of Lincoln and Stanton, had he been in the habit of exhibiting himself under the influence of drink. In fact, none of his numerous enemies was ever able to point out another such unfortunate *fiasco* in all the years of his public life. The painful incident could only be fitted into that long line of public service by some such reasonable explanation as the one given above. The gossip over the matter was gradually dying away of itself, when the fall of Richmond (April 3) and the surrender of Lee (April 9)—world-historic events succeeding each other with such rapidity—submerged the topic alto-

gether; and the sudden elevation to the Chief-Magistracy of the sole actor in the scene made it for the interest of every well-wisher of the new administration to bury it out of sight.

On that awful night of Friday, the fourteenth of April, 1865, at the moment when Booth's pistol startled the audience in Ford's theatre on Tenth street, a block north of Pennsylvania avenue, Vice-President Johnson was asleep in his room at the Kirkwood House on the northeast corner of Twelfth street and that avenue, about three blocks away. He had returned from his visit to the Blair mansion and, although the special session of the Senate ended on the eleventh of March, was still in the city; kept there, doubtless, by the necessity of winding up the affairs of his military governorship, as well as by the culminating events with which the rebellion collapsed. The major part of the day he had spent in the Vice-President's room at the Capitol; dining at the hotel at five o'clock in the afternoon and not going out in the evening. A room on the floor above his own was engaged that morning by a man who registered his name as G. A. Atzerodt, and in it, some time in the afternoon, were deposited, either by Atzerodt or by Herold (the companion of Booth in his flight), a coat belonging to Herold containing among other articles, a bank-book of Booth's; a pistol (under the pillow) and a bowie-knife (between the sheets and the mattress of the bed). During the same afternoon, a card, on which was written in the handwriting of Booth the message: "Don't wish to disturb you. Are you at home?" was left at the hotel office for the private secretary of the Vice-President. At eight o'clock in the evening, Booth, Payne, Herold and Atzerodt met at a tavern near the Patent Office to arrange the part each was to play in the coming tragedy. Atzerodt, to whom was assigned the assassination of the Vice-President, recoiled from the bloody task, and Herold undertook, in the

event of failure to screw up the courage of the German, to do the work himself. The four separated—Booth and Payne going straight to their respective victims—Atzerodt to ride about the streets in impotent and drunken bravado, and Herold, after a single effort to nerve his comrade's arm, cowering on the watch near the Seward mansion for the emergence of the blood-stained Payne. Andrew Johnson, unconscious of this abortive plot against his own life, which his more serious Nashville experience in that line might very well have taught him to despise, went to his bed at an early hour, and, undisturbed by the faintest premonition of the tremendous change just hovering above his head, sank into a quiet slumber.

Among the audience at Ford's theatre was Leonard J. Farwell, of Wisconsin, Governor of that State in 1851-3, for the present sojourning in the capital, stopping at the Kirkwood House where he had become somewhat intimate with the Vice-President. Farwell heard the fatal shot and saw the actor vault over the front of the box and alight on the stage; but, unlike the few excited spectators who directed their efforts to the capture of the assassin or to the succor of his victim, the thoughts of the more politic ex-Governor instantly reverted to the man next in succession to the Presidency at that moment resting quietly so close by. Making his way out of the building as speedily as possible, he ran down Tenth street, then two blocks up Pennsylvania avenue and, bursting into the hotel, cried out: "Guard the door; the President is murdered!" Without further pause he darted up the stairway and rapped again and again on the door of the Vice-President's room, calling out in a loud voice: "Governor Johnson, if you are in this room I must see you." The awakened sleeper sprang from his bed and approaching the door inquired: "Farwell, is that you?" "Yes, let me in," was the quick reply. The door unlocked, Farwell rushes in, turns, closes and locks it. Then he

gasps out his terrible news, so overwhelming that (as Farwell who tells the story states) "grasping hands we fell upon each other as for mutual support."

Other friends speedily gathered round and invaded the room. The news of the bloody attack upon the Secretary of State and the arrival of the soldiers sent by the Secretary of War to guard the Vice-President spread the belief that the murderous plot was not confined to the assassination of the President, but that the life of the officer next in succession had been aimed at, also, and might still be in peril. Anxious to ascertain the precise extent of the tragedy, Johnson despatched Farwell to make an investigation. With some trepidation the ex-Governor pressed through the crowds that lined the streets and with difficulty effected an entrance into the house opposite the theatre whither the dying Lincoln had been carried. After learning there was no hope of recovery he left and, making a wide detour to the house of the Secretary of State, learnt the particulars of the butchery that had taken place there. Returning to the Kirkwood, he reported the facts he had gathered to the Vice-President, who thereupon expressed his intention of going to the President's bedside. Disregarding the passionate remonstrances of some of his over-zealous friends against his venturing at such an hour into the crowded streets and declining the offer of a detachment of troops, he buttoned up his coat, pulled his hat well down over his eyes, directed Major O'Beirne of the Provost Guard to lead the way and, taking Farwell with him, proceeded on foot to the house in Tenth street. There, in the room where the life of his great predecessor ebbed gradually away, he remained looking sadly on, until at twenty-two minutes past seven in the morning death made him President of the United States.

At eleven o'clock he took the oath of office in the Treasury building, while the corpse of the murdered Lincoln was being laid in state in the East Room of the White House.

The inauguration passed almost without notice, so stunned was the capital by the inconceivable horror of the night. Few were present beside members of the late cabinet and Chief Justice Chase who administered the oath. Seward, the Secretary of State, lay at the point of death, bleeding from the gashes inflicted by his assailant. Stanton, the Secretary of War, was busy keying up the terror of the people to the highest pitch by proclaiming the assassination of the President and the Secretary of State as but the half-finished outcome of a gigantic and still active plot, concocted by the despairing Confederate leaders, to slay all the chief officers of the government, including the Secretary of War himself and the general of the army. The new President was taught to believe that he himself had barely escaped the clutches of the desperado whose deadly weapons were deposited in the room in the hotel on the floor above his own. Soldiers and detectives were rushing about in all directions in search of the assassins; the jails were beginning to fill with suspected persons; the numerous sympathizers with the Lost Cause were dumb with fear; the streets were being hung with black, and the bells were tolling the nation's grief. The crisis was one to shake the stoutest heart; and the man at its very center stood alone in most distressing isolation. Cast out as an apostate and unlineal son of the South; to the North unwelcome as a Southern man, a recent slaveholder and a *quasi* alien; nominated and elected as a make-shift to the second office of the republic; besmirched by a national humiliation undergone in his own person; he was suddenly thrust into the highest seat by the same hand that took the life of the ruler of the people's choice.

So far as could be discerned he met the harrowing emergency without nervousness and with the utmost calm. He spoke a few words expressing his sense of the awful calamity which had befallen the country and of his own

incompetency to discharge the duties so unexpectedly devolved upon him. Amid the distractions of the moment, he did not forget to appeal to his "past public life" as the "only guarantee of the future," he could then give. "The best energies of my life," he said, "have been spent in endeavoring to establish and perpetuate the principles of free government. * * I have long labored to ameliorate and alleviate the condition of the great mass of the American people. Toil and honest advocacy of the great principles of a free government have been my lot. The duties have been mine—the consequences are God's." With these unpremeditated remarks the hasty ceremony ended. At noon the new President held a cabinet meeting to make arrangements for the funeral of his predecessor; and on this occasion signified his wish that there should be no change in the Heads of the Departments—eager, as it were, in this lonely hour, that, by choosing Lincoln's confidential advisers for his own, he might gain the shelter of that consecrated name.

One section of the party in power, however, undistracted by the universal sorrow of the nation, greeted his accession with unfeigned congratulations,—a section composed of men of "blood and iron" who had all along resented, if they had not despised, the tender-heartedness of the deceased President. Regarding the Southern belligerents as black-hearted, perjured traitors, they sighed for the days of the quartering block, bills of attainder and corruption of blood. Their program was nothing less thorough than the execution of the leaders of the Confederacy after trial by court-martial, and the wholesale confiscation of their plantations—to be cut up into forty acre farms and donated to the "loyal men of the South," black and white. Such a measure of confiscation Lincoln had threatened to veto unless the Congress so amended it that it should not reach the fee and thus strip children of their patrimony; and there can be no doubt that he would have refused to his

last hour to punish even the chief of the rebels. If Jefferson Davis were hung at all it would have to be done in some country not within the compass of his pardoning power. At the last meeting of his cabinet, when his swift-coming assassination was casting its shadow on his head, he exclaimed: "No one need expect I will take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. Frighten them out of the country, open the gates, let down the bars, scare them off; (throwing up his hands as if scaring sheep). Enough lives have been sacrificed; we must extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and Union."

Johnson, on the other hand these stern men had reason to believe, would come up to their mark. The disdainful aloofness with which the well-born and well-educated statesmen of the South had treated this offspring of poverty and tailordom, they surmised, had engendered in his breast a mortified vanity and an angry defiance which contributed not a little to his phenomenal loyalty to the Union. And they knew that, in the bitter fight he had been obliged to wage with his own section and with fellow citizens of his own state, feelings akin to these from time to time had burst forth in words of scathing denunciation and threats of vengeance. They remembered that the military governor of Tennessee declared that traitors must be hung and treason made odious; that the rebels must be forced to take back seats in the renovated States and in the restored Union; that he would be the Moses of the colored race to lead them from the land of bondage to the land of promise. And they recalled, also, that more recently, the Vice-President had protested against the terms of surrender of General Lee and his army as too favorable to the higher officers, and, in this feature, not binding on the government.

(Continued.)

THE FIRST CLASH IN THE TEXAS REVOLUTION —THE TAKING OF ANAHUAC BY TRAVIS.

Documents, 1835.

(Continued.)

III. Intercepted Correspondence and Preliminary Symptoms.

Cos to the Political Chief of the Department of Brazos.

Commandant Generalship of the Internal States of the East.

The attempts made by the Governor of that State, Don Augustin Viesca, to subvert the public order having been disturbed by the Commandant Generalship, he believed without doubt, and that removing himself to the Colonies he would be beyond the reach of my vigilance, and that he would be able with more freedom to light up the civil war, for this object he set out for Texas, leaving Monclova clandestinely in company with six persons, more taking solely intransitable roads to avoid being discovered by the line of garrisons where I have already anticipated orders not to let him to pass into the frontier, because it was beyond a doubt that arriving there he would move those new inhabitants against the Supreme Government, and would create evils of much magnitude to the Nation. The vigilance of the military commandants has procured the arrest of the before mentioned Mr. Viesca, who was on an out of the way road in the vicinity of the town of Naba, a village a few miles from San Fernando. I have ordered him to be sent to the state of New Leon, where he will remain at the disposition of the Supreme Government of

the Union, who will with its notorious impartiality deliver him over to the tribunals that have to investigate his conduct and dispose of his person.

As by this measure, dictated under the force of my duty as the responsible person for the quietude and public peace, the state to which that department belongs is completely without a head, inasmuch as the Legislature is in recess, it has appeared to me proper to excite the zeal and patriotism of your honor in order that until the General Government determines as it should the appointment of new authorities, you take special care of the Administration and interior order of the Department under your charge, without making any innovations whatever, subject yourself to the laws of the State as granted to you. Nevertheless, your honor will dictate such measures as are in power to prevent under any circumstances a disturbance of the tranquility of the Department, placing yourself for this purpose in communication with the nearest Military Chief who will afford you every assistance. I do not doubt that your honor will cooperate in maintaining those towns in order and admit the protestation of my esteem.

God and Liberty.

MARTIN PERFECTO DE COS.

Matamoras, June 12th, 1835.

To the Political Chief of the Department of Brazos.

MARIANO TO TENORIO.

Don Antonio Fenorio [Tenorio],

My very dear friend: I shall be more in detail by the six vessels that are going to carry forces to you, in order that you and Duran may not cry. Day after tomorrow the balance of the battalion of Morales will arrive here and immediately embark. There is a part of the cavalry in

Matehuala, and Revolution does not now sound in this convalescent Nation. All goes well.

MARIANO.

(No date.)

UGARTECHEA TO TENORIO.

CAPT. ANTONIO FENORIO [TENORIO].

BEXAR, *June 20th 1835.*

My esteemed friend: Do not fail to communicate whatever intelligence you may have, and whatever you may think proper in relation to the public affairs in your section of the country. In a very short time the affairs of Texas will be definitively settled, for which purpose the Government has ordered to take up the line of march a strong division composed of the troops which were in Zacatecas, and which are now in Saltillo.

Take care of yourself, and command your friend &c.,

S. DOMINGO DE UGARTECHEA.

P. S. * * * * These Revolutionists will be ground down, and it appears to me we shall very soon see each other, since the Government takes their matters in hand.

COS TO TENORIO.

Your officios of the 2d and the 4th of this month are before me and their contents have filled me with sufficient grief, for I see to what an extreme the impudence of some strangers may carry them, for they appear to have persuaded themselves that the ports of the Republic appertain exclusively for the purpose of carrying a criminal and clandestine commerce. The original officios I have forwarded to Government with communications urging the necessity which there now is for other measures to cause obedience to the law by those inhabitants. I have no doubt

that with the brevity which these circumstances require they will provide for these necessities. In the meantime I have disposed that the Battalion of Morales shall pass from Victoria to this port where they shall embark for Copeno and thence they will march wherever it may become necessary. You will operate in every case with extreme prudence, but if by any fatality the public order should be overturned, you are to proceed without any contemplation against whomsoever may occasion it, without permitting for any cause the national arms and decorum to be tarnished.

God and Liberty.

MARTIN PERFECTO DE COS.

May 26, 1835.

To the Commandant at Anahuac.

AGUADO TO TENORIO.

For God's sake be firm. The recompence will be infallible and that assistance will go to you. The Government had embarked SIX HUNDRED men of which four hundred were infantry, and the devilments of Zacatecas caused them to march by land, of them we have here fifty, the rest are scattered. The affair of Zacatecas is concluded and nothing embarrasses the Government putting a respectable number of troops in those parts so soon as the faction of Monclova shall be reduced, of the good patriots that will not contribute to speed; there is not one that will not contribute to actuate this measure, etc. Cos in preference, who with our friend is undeceived by the democracies of the free. Do not omit to conciliate the honor of arms with the preservation of that beautiful skin.

Zacatecas is put down, and there is no embarrassment to making the reforms, as they were treated of with zeal in

Congress. I include a Nevil (a paper) in order that you may see all is printed, with an account of the triumph over Zacatecas.

S. M. Aguado.

From the *Texas Republican,* July 4, 1835.

Tenorio to Ugartechea.

June 25, 1835.

On the 11th of the present month the Collector of the Maritime Custom House asked me officially for the help of four soldiers and a corporal. As the sense of the document was not very clear, I went to see him in person, and he told me by word of mouth that he wished them to remain in his office as a guard in order to prevent an attack that he feared from the merchant Don A. Briscoe, who was to call for the purpose of paying the duties which he owed. Seeing that the force that he asked was sufficient, in spite of his already having an orderly, he got four men; but the office did not receive any insult.

On the night of the 12th the same Mr. Briscoe took from his house a box, and went to the sea shore to embark it; but the collector and guards also went to the sea shore, and when they tried to arrest Briscoe and two other Americans they resisted with arms, and one of them, named Smith, was shot by one of the soldiers and wounded. They took a dagger from one, and he and the others were made prisoners, and the collector immediately carried his complaint to the Judge of the First Instance, who came and made investigation. He took one of the men under his charge and immediately liberated him on bond; and the other one, since he had not taken any part in the fight, the Collector himself released the following day.

Mr. Briscoe was simply making fun of the Collector with all this business, for when the box was opened, it was found to be full of mere rubbish. The audacity of this man who

has only been in the colony a short time is extraordinary and so decided that the Judge instituted a suit against him and hopes that he will be punished. This event alarmed the neighborhood, but the Judge calmed them, so that thanks to him the tranquillity was not disturbed. In Brazoria, however, according to the testimony of a man who has come from there, it is not the same; and the Judge even fears that the Colonists of the Department of San Felipe wish to come to this Department to fight. They, by reason of the capture of the sloop Columbia are very much excited, and I have been informed that they are arming a sloop for the purpose of fighting the Moctezuma.

This may be very serious for the harm that they fear from this vessel is of importance to their clandestine commerce; and there would be no lack of desperate men who, well paid, would lend their services, particularly as many of those individuals are banished from their country for crimes committed there. And that kind of people are capable of anything, particularly as they know the benevolent character of the Mexicans who will pardon them. If they may gain the upper hand in Texas they care for nothing. For which reason I believe it prudent to manage the ships with precaution, because, as I have said, it will not be difficult in the bay, taking advantage of a dark night, to burn the ships or harm them in some way.

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

[Tenorio's report of his surrender of Anahuac appeared in these PUBLICATIONS for September, 1902.]

IV. RESULTS AND COMMENTS.

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *July 13, 1835.*

With a great deal of pain I see myself obliged to remit to you the enclosed letter, which at this moment, 5 o'clock

in the afternoon, I have just received from Don Edward Gritten at Villa de Gonzales. It confirms in an indubitable manner that the detachment of Anahuac was invaded by a considerable force of malcontents of San Felipe. Such an event and the others whose details I state in the act which I directed to you by an extraordinary this morning show the disaffection and discontent with which those wicked ones look at the Nation. They deserve to be made an example of, and this I am determined by all means to do; counting on the help of the General Commandancy to be able to punish acts so scandalous and to repulse force by force.

It is necessary to mount the companies of Alamo, Bexar, and La Bahia * * * and in the same condition are the troops of New Leon. Besides the battalion of Morelos, at least one thousand men more will be necessary, and if I do not get them, I shall only be able with the force already mentioned to defend the city and to resist to the last in case I should be attacked, which is to be expected, since the colonists are encouraged by their success at Anahuac and have already a considerable force at this time, which I bring to your consideration, etc.

P. S. I have just sent to arrest the spy who has been denounced to me, coming from San Felipe, and I shall send you his declaration by the next post.

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *July 13, 1835.*

By a countryman who has just arrived from San Felipe, I have received a communication from Don Antonio Tenorio, copies of which accompany this, along with the original of the acts formulated by some adventurers of that town. It shows the impetuosity which is carrying them on to the

revolution, as well as the criminal conduct which moved them to open the papers addressed to the military commandant of Anahuac. For that scandalous conduct I hold the Political Chief of that department responsible, and it is to him that I address the communication whose copy goes with this.

By the said country man I have been informed that the soldiers, conductors of another correspondence, are yet prisoners, having been deprived of their arms, horses, and equipment. We attribute all that to the Political Chief, as you will see by the copy of the communication that I directed to him.

The same man says that at the time of his starting an American arrived with arms (and he said that those of Anahuac had been sold), and nothing more of importance has occurred to us.

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

MILLER TO UGARTECHEA.

Chieftaincy of the Department of Brazos.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication under date of 7th of July, which I received with great pleasure. I have caused it to be printed and published throughout my department.

The people here have been very much alarmed and excited in consequence of a report reaching this department, that the General Government intended to send some four or five thousand troops with hostile intentions, during this state of alarm and excitement, many acts of violence have been committed by a few individuals over which this Chieftaincy had no control.

The affair of Anahuac is a circumstance I much regret,

and as soon as I heard of it, I immediately issued an order causing the arms that had been taken from the troops to be returned and offered the commandant the protection of this chieftaincy, and requested him to return to his station. I have taken the most prompt and energetic measures to put down the excitement, and am happy to inform you that this department is perfectly tranquil, and I pledge myself that it shall remain so.

Your esteemed communication has satisfied every person and has enabled me to tranquilize my department. I will in a few days send you a special commission, who will explain everything and satisfy you that we are peaceable and loyal.

You may rely with confidence on my exerting all my powers to preserve public order and tranquility; you will be pleased to accept my assurances of the most high and distinguished consideration.

God and Liberty.

J. B. Miller.

To Colonel Ugartechea, July 16, 1835.

From a newspaper clipping.

Ugartechea to Cos.

Bexar, *July 18, 1835.*

Up to this time I have not received any other news relating to the detachment of Anahuac, except that they had been carried to San Felipe by force. As the messengers that I sent to Anahuac were arrested and I have not yet succeeded in having them liberated, I cannot send many military messengers. The messages that you sent me under date of the 12th for the Political Chiefs of the three departments, I shall send by a country man that I can trust.

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *July 25, 1835.*

By the communications of Captain Don Antonio Tenorio that I have addressed to you, you will be informed of the need of help in which that officer finds himself.

The regular companies of New Leon which are to arrive tomorrow have also a ..... for the present month. In view of this and considering the very few collections of the Custom House of Matagorda, it has been until now difficult to pay the expenses of the companies of Alamo, Bexar, and La Bahia. And I see myself obliged to present you another suggestion that the commissary of Matamoras provide the necessary funds to meet the payments due to the force indicated, and that of Morelos, which is very nearly arrived, having left La Bahia on the 21st of this month.

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *July 25, 1835.*

Under date of the 15th of this month Captain Don Antonio Tenorio says to me that Don Lorenzo Zavala arrived at the bar of Velasco in the sloop San Felipe. And although your order for them to go to Vera Cruz to give an account of a diplomatic mission was urged, I cannot enforce it. For that it would be necessary to have sufficient force to make them respect the dignity of the Nation. On the 26th or 27th the battalion of Morelos, and, according to your last orders the regulars of New Leon will arrive to join the force in this city. And I am expecting your orders to know how I must act in regard to Señor Zavala.

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *July 25, 1835.*

Yesterday afternoon the corporal Juan Ximenes and the soldier Santos Flores, by whom I had sent the correspondence of Captain Don Antonio Tenorio and who had been taken prisoners, as I have told you in my previous communications, returned from San Felipe. The deposition which accompanies this, taken from them by my orders, will inform you of the manner in which they were treated in San Felipe. Through them I have received the enclosed official communications and particulars from Captain Tenorio who addressed them to me from another place; also a letter from Don Edward Gritten, an officio of the Political Chief of the Brazos, and an act of a meeting which took place in the department. By all these papers you will be able to see the state of public opinion among the colonists, and also the determination with which they will oppose the introduction of the troops into the colony, which the supreme Government has destined for that purpose and which are now in my opinion very necessary.

P. S. By a country man who took your communications to the Political Chiefs of the Brazos and Nacogdoches, I sent one to Captain Tenorio, telling him, if they would allow him in San Felipe to do so, to come to this city, where by your order he must reside for some time.

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *August 1, 1835.*

In fulfillment of the order that I received under date of the 20th of last month I have directed to the Political Chief the communication whose copy goes with this, ordering that investigation be made and punishment given those who com-

mitted the criminal act of opening the official and private correspondence addressed to Captain Don Antonio Tenorio. In due time I shall let you know what answer I receive.

(Ugartechea says he has not heard whether Tenorio will come to Bexar in accordance with the order of a few days ago. There is no news of the colonists because he has nobody to send for news.)

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *August 1, 1835.*

Yesterday I received the enclosed communications addressed to me from San Felipe by Captain Don Antonio Tenorio. You will see by them that Don Lorenzo Zavala, having disembarked at Brazoria, is now in Columbia intending to revolt. To prevent this and to fulfill your orders to secure the person of this individual and bring him to this town, where he must re-embark, I have delivered a communication to the council and Political Chief of the Brazos, taking advantage of the good dispositions in which they now are, and of their anxiety that no troops be introduced into the colony. * * *

I have not been able to send the troop of horses that the said Tenorio asked for in his communication. In view of all this, I beg of you to interest yourself in order that I may be helped with money for the want of which I have been unable to aid Captain Tenorio, although I pity the state of need and scarcity in which he is.

I also expect that you will tell me in your answer if you think it expedient for me to start with 200 horsemen to the apprehension of Don Lorenzo Zavala, and of a number of foreigners who are actually conspiring against the Government.

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *August 15, 1835.*

To this day Captain Don Antonio Tenorio has not arrived. As soon as he comes I shall let you know. I have at the same time the satisfaction of telling you that nothing new has happened during the fifteen days of this month.

From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.

T. M. THOMPSON'S PROCLAMATION.

To the Citizens of Anahuac, &c:

Having seen by advertisements posted in front of the principal stores in this city signed by Judge Williams and Hardinge under the pretense of having received orders from the Gefe politico of these districts, and having in my possession a document, purporting to be signed by H. S. Rueg, dated Nacogdoches, July 3rd, 1835, ordering the inhabitants of this place and its vicinity to meet and elect officers for the purpose of organizing a militia, all of which are contrary to the law of the Government. Be it therefore known that I, T. M. Thompson, Commander of the Mexican United States Schooner of War Correo now at anchor in this port, do warn all good citizens from attending such meetings and that none may plead ignorance hereafter, do hereby publish and declare in the name of the Mexican Nation all such meetings to be illegal, dangerous, and unnecessary, and contrary to the constitutions. The General Congress have passed a law which is now in force ordering every State to disband their Militia and I here find that in defiance of the Government you are organizing and arming yourselves and have forcibly seized upon the arms of the Mexican Nation. And for what? They tell you of dangers that do not exist, all Mexico is at peace and will continue to be so if your own rashness do not lead you

astray. Citizens of Anahuac, Beware! listen not to men who have no home, who have no family, who have nothing to loose in case of civil war and who merely by crossing the Sabine, can put themselves out of the power of the Mexican Nation, leaving yourselves, wives and children a prey to the infuriated Soldier, without protection and without friends. Citizens of Anahuac! remain at home, occupy yourselves in your daily avocations for the maintenance of your family, have confidence in the general Government, and all will yet be well. With all due respect, and confiding fully in your good judgment, I subscribe myself your esteemed friend and fellow-citizen—on board.

God and Liberty.

T. H. Thompson.

July 26th, 1835.

(Continued.)

LETTERS OF AN EMINENT NAVAL OFFICER TO EX-SENATOR JAMES R. DOOLITTLE.

[It has been said of Admiral Hiram Paulding that he "always, in his many stations of honor and trust, acted with discretion and a zealous devotion to the public good."

When it is remembered that Admiral Paulding was, for forty-five years, in the active military service of the United States as a naval officer, and that during that period valuable and delicate services were rendered his country in the Civil War, the four letters which follow to his personal and political friend, the late ex-Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, will have something more than passing interest to the student of the reconstruction period of our national life.

They are important, certainly, as showing the state of the writer's feelings at and about the time his action was so widely criticised because of his action in causing the arrest of the filibuster, William Walker, in Nicaragua, an act which called forth a special message to the Congress by President Buchanan condemning the act, although the honesty of Paulding's motives was never questioned.

Admiral Paulding was born in New York in 1797; appointed a midshipman Sept. 1, 1811; served on Lake Ontario at the commencement of the war with England; was transferred to Lake Champlain; promoted lieutenant April 27, 1816; promoted commander Feb. 9, 1837; Post-Captain in 1843; commissioned Rear Admiral July 16, 1862. In 1858, relieved from the Home Squadron soon after having sent filibuster Walker and his men home from Nicaraugua. In 1861, appointed by President Lincoln to assist the Navy Department in putting the navy afloat and rendered other service consequent upon the breaking out of the Civil War. In the performance of these duties was the destruction of the Navy Yard at Norfolk in obedience to orders; same year was appointed in command of Navy Yard at New York; Governor of Naval Asylum at Philadelphia in 1866-8; Post-Admiral at Boston in 1869-71.

DUANE MOWRY.]

Milwaukee, Wis.

HUNTINGDON, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

Jan. 11th, 1859.

My Dear Sir:

I was disappointed not to have heard from you during the Holidays and had promised my family they had a prospect of seeing you & perhaps your son.

We will hope that some other time may be more propitious to our wishes, and whenever it may be our good fortunes, I will promise in advance a cordial greeting.

I am disappointed with the result of my Filibuster vote in the House yesterday. I thought my friends there would have carried every thing before them & wonder how the whole subject should have been tabled, after a vote of thanks had been passed by a respectable majority. In the Senate I have thought you had more to contend with & this vote in the House may quite discourage my anti Filibuster friends. To me it has been incomprehensible how so vile an infamy should be permitted to cast its dishonour upon our country.

I can understand why we have a population on our southern border, unscrupulous as to their pursuit or manner of life, & how it is that their renegade leaders & supporters prompt the mischievous spirit for their own wicked purposes, but I can not see how it is that people who live in a community where law & order prevail and where the attributes of humanity and civilization are amongst the prominent virtues should in any manner whatever countenance a violation of public law, perpetrated with a view in prospective, of committing every crime that violates the laws of God & man.

As to the justification of my course there is but one opinion here and some ten days since I was informed that the merchants & professional men in New York without distinction of party, had prepared a memorial to the president, to allow the officers of the law, of the government, to defend me. In case of his refusal it was to be sent to both Houses of Congress.

I shall be most happy to receive a line from you and beg you will accept my assurance of high respect & believe me your obliged Friend & ob't serv't

H. Paulding.

The Hon. James R. Doolittle,
U. S. Senate, Washington.

HUNTINGDON, LONG ISLAND,
Jan. 20th, 1859.

My Dear Sir:

I had the very great pleasure to receive your esteemed favour of the 17th Inst.

When your son returns from Washington I wish he would make it convenient to call at Mr. Bruguere's, 138 Pearl Street, N. Y., & ask for my son, Tattnall Paulding.

He may be able to shew him the way & render it the more pleasant by his company. If Tattnall cannot come he will put him on the right tracks & we have lively young people in the House who will give him a cordial welcome. Tattnall is in the counting house in Pearl street & boards with a Mrs. Simonson in Brooklyn, corner of Hicks & Orange Street. I am thus particular in giving the address that the way may be made plain for the young gentleman when he arrives in the great bedlam, Gotham. I want him to find the way now that he may get acquainted & know where to come another time. We will return his visits one of these days when he is no longer a student.

I am glad you succeeded in your amendment. As the times go it will be of infinite public benefit in the control of unscrupulous men. It has appeared to me that your plan of surveying the rout before further action was taken by Congress was the best. A little delay would not be an evil in so great an undertaking. By delay knowledge will be constantly obtained & I suppose it is greatly needed to proceed intelligently.

I am not a little surprised that there should have been an objection on the part of the committee to the printing of the Nicaragua papers. If it had been some one else than myself to be justified, I should have regarded such a proceeding not only as a wrong but an outrage upon public justice. It is in the same spirit of unmanliness in which I have been assailed by those dogs of Filibusterism.

It is in the same spirit in which Mr. Clingman as Chairman of Foreign affairs in the House presented a report to the House written by himself & which in committee had been declared as not embracing its views.

After it had thus been dissented to in the committee, he smuggled it in the House, giving as an excuse afterwards that he had obtained the consent of a majority of the committee *whilst in their seats* to make the report. This was told me by Judge Hopkins now the Chairman & who was then a member of the committee. Such a man is not worthy to hold a place amongst gentlemen. I was especially fortunate in having such a friend as yourself to set aside the purposes of Mr. Clay & men like him.

The administration & its friends are now quite tired of the subject & I dare say would like to have it put to rest. They have discovered what they should have known before that the country is full of just & generous impulses.

The old soldiers Bill from the House & now before the Senate is silent in regard to the navy. Our pride in this is much concerned. When in the war of 1812 the army met with nothing but disaster the navy was pursuing a career of victory that terminated only with the close of the war. If the Bill should pass the Senate I hope it will be with an amendment by which the navy will participate in its benefits whatever they may be.

I will be glad to receive a few lines from you a few days before your son leaves Washington. It may so happen that I shall be in the city at the time.

With high respect I am Faithfully yours,

H. Paulding.

The Hon. James R. Doolittle,
United States Senate,
Washington.

HUNTINGDON, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.,
Jan. 7th, 1860.

My Dear Sir:

I had seen in the *Times* of N. Y. a synopsis of what you had said in the Debate of the 3rd Inst and I thank you with all my sincerity for sending me the *Globe* with all that was said by those who opposed you as well as the full, clear, logical and unanswerable exposition of the power of Congress under the Constitution relative to the Territories & the miserable slave question. I have seen nothing that more fully meets my views & the sturdy manhood with which you fairly vindicated the northern character, quickened my pulse with a glow of honest pride. The truth is that there is so little of this amongst our representatives, the people of the south are apt to misapprehend the fine attributes that belong to our northern character. In military life where bravado never passes current this thing from social intercourse is better understood. I will thank you also my dear sir, for the knowledge I derive from your examination & exposition of the Judgments of the Supreme Court. To very many it must be apparent how opinion and judgment varies with time & circumstances & how silently & insidiously the revolution of government & (and) even opinion in its integrity may go on, but for the active energy of a mind occasionally prompted, labouriously to look into the history of past years & bring to light the wisdom of men whose names are a barrier to wicked purposes.

After all my convictions were clear & satisfactory, following your facts & deductions to the end, I was not a little amazed in trying to make out the opposing argument and objections of Mr. Pugh.

I thought there must be something where so much was said & repeated my reading with the same result & really could find no expression to characterise his speech until I came to your view of it, which seemed to convey the very

idea that was forced upon my mind. When I read that the difference between you & Mr. P. was simply that he "could argue words in the question & out of it," which you had not yet learned, it appeared to me so graphic & truthful, I felt at once that others like myself must see the fanfaronade of words meaning nothing, & it was not to be wondered at, at the close of the Debate, that he fairly sunk under the pressure of the responsibility he had assumed.

To me Mr. Pugh appeared throughout to have taken a part that did not belong to him. It had been better for the southern gentlemen rather than a northern Democrat, acting the part of a new convert & believing the sentiment of his people.

The view you take of disunion & the disreputable threats that are made, meets my cordial and hearty concurrence. The thing is impossible. Men may be mad enough to make the attempt but it cannot be done. There may be Revolution but no disunion. The heart of the nation knows no other sentiment. When a man in high place speaks of the election of a Republican President as a cause for Secession I feel as though he deserved hanging almost as much as Ottawattomy.

I have been out of the way of being a politician & if there were no other embarrassment the way is so devious I am now quite too old to learn, yet I have always I trust known how to esteem an honest and how to appreciate an able man in or out of public councils & without any boast, I glory in the prosperity & happiness of our dear country as well as its prospective greatness, unsurpassed I doubt not in all that has preceeded our nationality.

That a curse inflicted upon us by fortuitous circumstances should arrest the greatness of a nation like this and defeat the fair promise of human happiness throughout the world, is but a dream of darkness that will pass away before the light of christianity and civilization if we do but have such

Sentinels at the Watch Tower of Liberty as my kind and excellent friend, the Senator from Wisconsin. This may look to you like the language of Flattery but indeed it is not meant to be so. It has not been in my way of life and I am now too old to learn. There seems to be great difficulty but I hope in the end Mr. John Sherman will be elected Speaker. I do not doubt that it would be a good thing in the end to put the chord to its greatest tension, first by the election of a Speaker and then a Republican President. The Sailors have a song that says "when things get to the worst they are sure to improve," & although I should be sorry to see our affairs in so bad away as this, I have no doubt that a good probing will produce a healthful reaction. However it may be I am sure by your wisdom and virtue you will merit the gratitude of all honest men.

I have written so long a letter that I can hardly suppose the reading will repay you for the loss of time & will trust to Mrs. Doolittle's time & patience to tell you what there is in it worth knowing.

I intended again to have called before leaving, but had too many claims upon my time without losing the Christmas at home.

You have so far secured my confidence by your public course & personal kindness that I presume to write without restraint or ceremony & you will always increase my obligations by sending me whatever may strike you as having an interest to a retired country gentleman watchful of the signs of the times.

Mrs. P. unites with me in compliments & kind wishes to Mrs. Doolittle & I am always with high respect & consideration

Your Friend
H. Paulding.

The Hon. J. R. Doolittle,
U. S. Senate.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *May 29th, 1861.*

My Dear Senator—

I had great pleasure in seeing your hand, always suggestive of my profound indebtedness to your patriotism and disinterested kindness to me as an officer.

Your letter of the 26th Inst. reached me to-day and I have just looked into the records of the Department to investigate the case of Mr. Knapp.

By the record I find that sixteen years ago he was dismissed the service for Drunkeness and unofficerlike conduct & rendered incapable of serving in the Navy of the United States, by the sentence of a Court Martial. The President remitted the latter part of the sentence. With every disposition on my part to meet your wishes and acknowledge the merit of Mr. Knapp's subsequent abstinence and reputable conduct, the case is one too prominent in violation of the rules of Naval discipline to be considered with favor. To supply the place of the officers that have so shamefully abandoned their duty to the best government ever established for the happiness of mankind, we are now receiving with acting appointments as Sailing Master, a splendid class of men who have served as Ship Masters in conducting the commerce of the country & in this way will be able efficiently to supply the wants of the government, by mixing them up with our officers, trained in the Naval Service & it will afford the delinquents but little satisfaction to learn that we have good & true men enough and can do very well without them.

With neither Ships nor men to work with when the government raises its arm against Rebellion, we have now at their stations & on their way a naval force that will cover the coast from Mexico to the Capes of Delaware & in two weeks more I hope to have the whole Navy at sea, with the exception of a few of the old line of Battle Ships. It has

been much of a task to those who have had the work to do but accomplished with earnest & thorough good will, worthy of the cause.

Our Squadrons, with the exception of that in the Pacific, are ordered home & when they arrive we can equip and send them off, & they will take the place of the steamers bought & chartered from the merchantile marine & fitted with guns. They answer our temporary service for summer cruising but are expensive & taken under the *law only of our great necessity.* We are now about to anticipate the approval of Congress by building a number of heavy Gun Boats & will soon astonish Europe as well as our country with the result of our energy. I look forward with much interest to the time when Congress shall come together & when I may again receive & acknowledge your friendly greeting.

With high consideration,

Faithfully Yours

H. Paulding.

LENOIR'S RANGERS. A NORTH CAROLINA REVOLUTIONARY COMPANY.

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. P. H. MELL.

[In 1775 Surry County, North Carolina, included in its boundaries Wilkes, Stokes and Surry and being a frontier county was supposed to extend to the Mississippi River.

At that time the inhabitants were much annoyed and alarmed by the depredations of the Indians, so that active measures were necessary for the public safety; William Lenoir was selected and ordered by the colonel of the county to raise a company of Rangers for the protection of the frontier settlements.

William Lenoir had previously belonged to a company of "Minute Men" commanded by Capt. Jesse Walton, but he was captain of this company of Rangers. The Rangers went on several expeditions against Indians and against Tories and endured much hardship and many dangers.

On the 1st July, 1780, this company of Capt. Lenoir's was "enlisted into the public service." Nathaniel Gordon was Lieutenant. Chas. Crenshaw was Ensign.

The following papers are correct copies of manuscripts found at "The Fort" among General Lenoir's private papers which he had packed away in some drawers of a desk and which were left in these drawers for sixty years. The lists were in his own handwriting. He stated in one of his papers that he made these lists of his men so that if he fell in battle or any thing happened to him, the men could prove their services. The Association is indebted to Mrs. P. H. Mell, Clemson College, S. C., for this material.]

Order to Col. Benj. Cleaveland.

June, 1780.

Directed to Col. Benj. Cleaveland.

Wilkes Co.

(By Express.)

RICHMOND,
June 10th, 1780.

Sir—

I received an express from Genl. Rutherford ordering me to raise fifty Light Horse and march to Creswell Mines for one ton of lead to be carried by the Light Horse to Salis-

bury. I start tomorrow. The General orders me to send you the same instructions, requiring you to go as soon as possible. I shall be there before you and leave a ton for you. You are to hold every effective man in your Regiment in readiness to march at an hour's notice and have him fixed with a gun and a sling and a spantoon.

These orders for want of an opportunity of sending you an express, he ordered me to forward, which I hereby comply with and am Sir,

Your obedient Servt.
(The name was torn off.)

(Col. Cleaveland wrote on the back,)

Col. Cleaveland's Order.
750 Capt. Lenoir.

Sir—

I have received the within orders. You will proceed to raise 15 men in your company. They must find themselves and you must meet at Capt. Allen's 19th of this inst. Early in the day.

BENJ. CLEAVELAND.

June 15, 1780.

(In Wm. Lenoir's hand writing.)
List of Men
who went in Capt. Lenoir's Company of Light Horse to Creswell Mines.

1st Expedition.

David Allen,	Ben Hamrick,
Jobe Cole,	Ben Fletcher,
Wm. Combs,	Thos. Stubblefield,
Devereux Ballard,	Littlebury Toney,
Thos. Isbell,	John Gray,
Edwd. Bell,	Henry Martin,
James Woolbanks,	Richard Watts,
Joshua Tousson,	Lemuel Harvey,

Shadrach Tousson,
Jas. Tousson,
George Coombs,
George Gordon,
Ben Yeargain,
Wm. Gilreath,
Chas. Reynolds,
Jas. Holeman,
John Whittaker,
Gabriel Smithers,
Chas. Vickas,
Wm. Tribble.

Capt. William Lenoir's
Company.

1st July, 1780.

William Lenoir, Capt.
Nathaniel Gordon, Lt.
Chas. Crenshaw, Ens.

Chapman Gordon,
John Parks, Esqr.,
Reuben Smithers,
Wm. Jones,
Thos. Newberry,
John Pitman,
John Horton,
Edward Bell,
Devereux Ballard,
Chas. Hardman,
Joel Chandler,
John Bain,
Benj. Brown,
Elijah Reynolds,
Saml. Johnson,
John Vickas,
Wm. Tribble,
James Sheppard,
Saml. Burdone,
Thos. Jones,
Wm. Sutton,
Wm. Smith.

(In Genl. Lenoir's handwriting.)

A List of my company that went to the Old Store and to the Catawba, exclusive of those that went down with Capt. Herndon.

John Parks, Lieutenant.
Devereux Ballard, Sergt.

Chas. Crenshaw,
Reuben Smithers,
Edwd. Bell,
Elisha Reynolds,
Saml. Johnson,
Edwd. Simpson,
Chapman Gordon,
George Gordon,
Joshua Tousson,
Shadrach Tousson,

Wm. Profit,
John Townsend,
John Horton,
Jas. Woolbanks,
George Combs,
William Combs,
Ben Yeargain.

This expedition was in Feb., 1781.

ELIZABETH MARSHALL MARTIN.

[The significance of these letters depends on their connection with one of the heroic women described by Mrs. Ellet in her *Women of the Revolution* (Vol. 2, pp. 311-317). Elizabeth Marshall Martin is supposed to have been of the family of the great Chief Justice. She married Abram Martin who removed to South Carolina from Virginia and settled in what is now Edgefield County. She sent seven sons into the American ranks, and it was the wives of two of these that dressed themselves in their husbands' clothes and surprised a British detachment, obtaining valuable dispatches.

In a letter dated Augusta, Ga., August 2, 1900, from Mrs. S. A. McWhorter to her sister, Mrs. Josephine A. Perry, is the history of the originals from Thomas Marshall and Elizabeth M. Martin so far as known. She states that each was on a single sheet, yellow with time, excellent in handwriting and correct in spelling, the punctuation being retained in these copies, broken at the folds but wrapped in a slip inscribed "to Marshall Martin—found in Uncle Thomas's coat pocket—Aunt Mary" (Mary Keith, wife of Thos. Marshall)—the whole bound in cloth and the package preserved with other bits of treasure until found by Miss Annie Martin. The Association is indebted to Mrs. Josephine A. Perry for this material.]

GEORGETOWN, VA., *December 8, 1767.*

Dear Elizabeth:

I have been to see William Marshall and find he will sell the land for £30. The receipts were given by father and signed by him only—John Marshall—he is not disposed—however—to sell the Spring lot—I will buy the Tobacco he has growing on it. William will be here on Tuesday, so be here by 10 o'clock to settle with him.

Your affectionate brother

THOMAS MARSHALL.

Addressed—

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Martin

Martin Plantation.

by Simeon.

My dear Edmund.

Your letter was received with much sadness at the death of my beloved cousin Sally, I sympathize with you deeply.

The boys—William and Charles are here and are winning

favor for themselves—their fine soldierly appearance and bearing would stir the heart of Aunt Elizabeth could she see them from her heavenly home and Ed I believe she does.

You had best come on and bring the plats with you, the papers are all right—you will have no difficulty. My health is very feeble now so you come to Ricmond.

With affectionate greeting I am your cousin

JOHN MARSHALL [The great Chief Justice].

March 1833. Charles is strikingly like Marshall in his uniform.

Addressed to

Edmund Randolph Martin
Augusta. Ga.

Green St.

Dear brother Thomas—

We are in much confussion and distress because of the burning of our out houses last night. They have taken every horse and fowl and soon after they left the barns were found to be burning—they did not come to the house and I do not think they were Indians

Gen. Braddock and staff camped here last night—he informed father Martin that Abram had taken his command to join Col. Washington with Gen. Braddock, they are on their way to du-quesne. I would it were so that you and Mary could come to us for a while, two of the children have measles and father Martin is sick with dysentery and I am in bed with a baby three days old and am too week to get up. I fear the return of the enemy, do come if possible. We have no horse to send for you.

David will take this to you. I have brought all the blacks into the house.

Your affectionate sister

ELIZABETH MARSHALL MARTIN.

We have two guns here.

Plantation June 15th 1755.

REVIEWS.

THE AMERICAN NATION: A History from Original Sources by Associated Scholars. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, LL. D., advised by various Historical Societies; in 28 volumes, O. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1904. Cloth, $1.75 per volume.

In his general introduction to the series the editor calls attention to the need of a new history of the United States, extending from the discovery to the present time: "On the one side there is a necessity for an intelligent summarizing of the present knowledge of American history by trained specialists; on the other hand there is need of a complete work, written in untechnical style, which shall serve for the instruction and the entertainment of the general reader."

Such is the field, the scope and the method which are set for the present work. To complete such a work within reasonable time co-operation was necessary, the whole is divided into 26 volumes of text, "in each of which the writer is free to develop a period for himself. It is the editor's function to see that the links of the chain are adjusted to each other, end to end, and that no considerable subjects are omitted." It is intended "to tell what has been done, and, quite as much, what has been purposed, by the thinking, working and producing people who make public opinion. Hence the work is intended to select and characterize the personalities who have stood forth as leaders, * * * the great divines, the inspiring writers, and the captains of industry. For this is not intended to be simply a political or constitutional history: it must include the social life of the people, their religion, their literature, and their schools. It must include their economic life, occupations, labor systems, and organizations of capital. It must in-

clude their wars and their diplomacy, the relations of community with community, and of the nation with other nations."

"The principle of the whole series is that every book shall be written by an expert for laymen."

This is the series which was first discussed as a possible undertaking by the American Historical Association. It was thought best, however, that the Association as an organization should not enter into such work. It was then projected by Professor Hart and his associates as a private venture. The whole series is to be composed by 26 different scholars extending in geographical range from Arizona and Texas in the West to Boston in the East. There is to be a volume of maps, many of them new, and a general index.

The text will itself be divided into five groups: I. Foundations of the Nation, 5 vols.; II. Transformation into a Nation, 5 vols.; III. Development of the Nation, 5 vols.; IV. Trial of Nationality, 6 vols.; V. National Expansion, 5 vols. The first group of five volumes has just been published. The titles of the several volumes will indicate their scope and character while the authors will show the high standing of the experts engaged on the series: Vol. I. The European Background of American History, by E. P. Cheyney, A. M., Professor of European History, University of Pennsylvania; Vol. II. Basis of American History, by Livingston Farrand, M. D., Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University; Vol. III. Spain in America, by E. G. Bourne, Ph. D., Professor of History, Yale University; Vol. IV. England in America, by Lyon G. Tyler, LL. D., President of William and Mary College, Virginia; Vol. V. Colonial Self-Government, by Charles M. Andrews, Ph. D., Professor of History, Bryn Mawr College.

The successive groups treat the general field in chronological order. Thus Group II. brings the colonies through

the Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution. Group III. treats the first third of the 19th century: The Federalist System; The Jeffersonian System; Rise of American Nationality; Rise of the New West; Jacksonian Democracy. Group IV. deals with Slavery and the Civil War. Group V. considers post bellum and more general topics: Reconstruction, Political and Economic; National Development; National Problems; America, the World Power; Ideals of American Government.

How well the general plan of organization outlined will be executed in the various volumes yet remains to be seen. The first criticism which comes to mind is that the work is too extensive and schorlarly for the layman and not enough so for the cholar. The man in the street cares nothing for bibliographies or scholarly apparatus, the student needs more than he can get here. He will still turn to his Winsor or his Larned. There are few laymen who have time to read 26 consecutive volumes on one subject. The student goes as before, if not to the sources themselves, to that enormous mass of special monographs covering limited fields which figures so largely in the lists of authorities and in the footnotes of the present volumes. But to the educated man who desires an extensive knowledge of American History without being a specialist in any field of the same, these volumes will be a source of inspiration and delight if he can be induced to read them.

Perhaps it is hypercritical to pass judgment on the later volumes by the execution of the earlier, but there does not seem, at any rate from the volume titles, much prospect of the extensive social history promised in the introduction. The titles lean closely enough to the political side. It is hoped the pages will redeem the promise of the editor. There can be no history of a nation, with the social elements which go to make up that history, either neglected or minimized.

In Group I., already published, the first three volumes traverse ground somewhat new. They discuss subjects which have not yet been worn threadbare by generations of history writers. With this in their favor these authors have produced volumes full of interest and attractiveness, for they have treated subjects which in former days were counted as beyond the ken of American colonial history. With volumes four and five, however, England in America and Colonial Self-Government, the beaten track is reached and it becomes increasingly difficult to say something new or to put it in a more pleasing form than has been done by earlier writers. As a result the last two volumes of Group I. do not have the freshness of the earlier three. Nor do any of the volumes now published treat the personal and social side with that fulnes which has been promised.

LIFE AND TIMES OF ANDREW JACKSON—Soldier—Statesman—President. By A. S. Colyar, Nashville, Tennessee. Press of Marshall & Bruce Company, Nashville. 1904, 2 vols. (For sale by the Author).

Previous to the publication of Colonel Colyar's work, several lives of General Jackson had been published: by Eaton in 1817; Wm. Cobbett, 1836; Amos Kendall, 1844; Jenkins, 1850; Headley, 1852; James Parton, 1859; W. G. Sumner, 1862; and Buell, 1904.

The earlier ones of these were defective in quantity of matter, and those of Parton and Sumner notoriously unfair, incorrect and highly prejudiced.

The author, Colonel Colyar, is a distinguished citizen and lawyer of Tennessee, a great grandson of General and Governor John Sevier who was long an active rival of Jackson. His early teachings and I doubt not his predilections were adverse to Jackson; but when he came to carefully study his life and character, his opinions changed and he felt it a duty to place Jackson's character before the world

in its true light. All this he tells, and tells well in his opening chapter.

The first chapter, in the main, is devoted to Jackson's early life. The author states that Jackson did not know where he was born. Jackson in his proclamation to the people of South Carolina during the nullification troubles calls South Carolina his native State, and repeats this in his will. The Waxhaw graveyard in which Jackson's father was buried, is stated to be in North Carolina, Colonel J. B. Erwin, now of Washington City, who was brought up in this neighborhood and who is familiar with the country, says that graveyard is in South Carolina, and that residents can point out the grave of General Jackson's father. There is in possession of Captain J. C. Foster of Lancaster, South Carolina, a plat of Gurney, made by Mr. Boyken of Camden, South Carolina, in 1820, a deputy surveyor of the State, which shows the old Jackson homestead to be in South Carolina and it shows the Waxhaw graveyard to be in South Carolina, three miles from the line of North Carolina. Mr. A. S. Salley, Charleston, South Carolina, had a very comprehensive treatment of the matter in the Charleston paper of July 31, 1904, reaching the conclusion that Jackson was born in South Carolina. A North Carolina student has argued strongly for his State and it seems a case of conflicting evidence.

Passing from the period of his early days the author traces his immigration to Tennessee and acquaintance with the Watauga settlers.

He reached Jonesboro, Tennessee, 1778, and during the same year went to Nashville. In the latter place he obtained license to practice law. He afterwards became district attorney, and Judge of the Superior Court.

The author traces his life as representative in Congress, which place he resigned after securing legislation to pay his soldiers, and as Senator, his career as Major General of

the Tennessee Militia, and Major General in the regular army, giving graphic accounts of all his battles and especially his great and unparalleled victory over the British at New Orleans. Every important act as President during his two terms is fully set out and discussed.

Much of the book is devoted to a defense of Jackson from aspersions of Parton and Sumner, especially as to his illiteracy, bad temper and rough manners. Mr. Webster is brought out as a witness for Jackson, declaring, "in his manners he is more presidental than any of his competitors, he is quiet and dignified—my wife is decidedly for him." This was spoken of Jackson when he was in the Senate.

He also quotes Benton to the effect:

"The first time I saw General Jackson was in Nashville, Tenn., in 1799, he on the bench, a Judge of the Superior Court and I, a youth of seventeen back in court. He was then a remarkable man and had his ascendant over all who approached him—not the effect of his high judicial station, nor of the senatorial rank which he had held and resigned, nor of his military exploits [he had not then been to war] but the effect of his personal qualities, cordial and graceful manners, elevation of mind, undaunted spirit, generosity and perfect integrity. In charging the jury he committed a slignt solecism in language which grated on my ear and lodged in my memory without, however, derogating in the least from the respect which he inspired. * * * I soon after became his aide, he being a Major General in the Tennessee militia made so by a majority of one vote. New Orleans, the Creek campaign and all other consequences dated from that one vote."

Mr. Colyar then quotes from Benton's reply to Monsieur De Tocqueville who said that Jackson was a man of violent temper and mediocre talents. Benton took up the different flings the Frenchman made at Jackson and vehemently argued for the strength and poise of character of Jackson, and made a long enumeration of the important public questions that Jackson had dealt with so successfully. Benton's views are worthy of the space Mr. Colyar gives to them as no man knew Jackson better, both in public and private life. All the more significant is his testimony as he was at one time in a deadly feud with Jackson, tho a

reconciliation came about. As Senator Benton had the best opportunities to estimate Jackson's administration, and when we consider how highly Benton was regarded for intelligence and integrity, we are justified in attaching much weight to his evidence as opposed to the unsympathetic attitude of De Tocqueville, Parton and Sumner.

It is of no slight interest to know that the historian, George Bancroft, can be ranged alongside of Benton in a friendly defence of Jackson. Mr. Colyar quotes thus from a speech of Mr. George Bancroft made soon after Jackson's death:

> "No man in public life so possessed the hearts of all around him, no public man of this century ever returned to private life with such an abiding mastery over the affections of the people. No man with truer instinct received American ideas. No man expressed them so completely or so boldly or so sincerely. * * History does not describe the man that equalled him in firmness of nerve. Not danger, not an army in battle array, not wounds, not widespread clamor, not age, not the anguish of disease could impair in the least degree the vigor of his steadfast mind. The heroes of antiquity could have contemplated with awe the unmatched hardihood of his character, and Napoleon, had he possessed his disinterested will could never have been vanquished. * * * His body has fit place in the great central valley of the Mississippi, his spirit rests upon our whole territory, it hovers over the vales of Oregon, and guards in advance the frontier of the Del Norte."

General Jackson's life after his return from the presidency is traced down to the date of his death, and a full copy of his will, and all details of his burial are given.

I regret to feel impelled to mention some facts which are apparent in the book, not however with the matter, but in the manner of the making up of the book. There is some needless repetition, and a want of system and order in its arrangement—in other words it lacks compactness. It has both table of contents and index, and the typographical work, binding and illustrations are very creditable.

The faults I have mentioned may be due to the fact that the work, or a great part of it was originally published in detached chapters in a daily newspaper. The issuance of

a second edition will afford opportunity to make the needed corrections.

Notwithstanding those faults in the make up of the book, I do not hesitate to say that in my opinion it is the only true and authentic life of General Jackson which has ever been written.

MARCUS J. WRIGHT.

Washington, D. C.

THE TRUE HENRY CLAY. By Joseph M. Rogers. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1904. 388 pp. Cloth, $2.00.

The more recent volumes in the "True Series" have fallen far below the standard set by Paul Leicester Ford in "The True George Washington," and one of them at least contains so many errors of fact as to make the title of the series appear ridiculous. It is to be hoped that this interesting and instructive addition indicates a change for the better. Mr. Rogers' work supplements the volumes written by Carl Schurz for the "American Statesmen Series." Schurz has given us a detailed history of the period from the beginning of the War of 1812 to the Compromise of 1850, assigning to Clay his own peculiar place. Mr. Rogers describes the private life and personal characteristics of the great Kentuckian, and in that way helps to explain some of the difficulties presented by his public career. A native of Clay's state and apparently a man of Whig antecedents, the author is thoroughly in sympathy with his subject, but, at the same time, he does not hesitate to call attention to the faults as well as to the virtues of his hero.

Clay's failure to reach the presidency was in large measure due to the lack of "one essential of political leadership,—fixity of mind" (p. 376). But if he was a "trimmer," it was not from selfish motives. His political position made it impossible for him to adhere rigidly to a definite policy.

By birth and tradition a Southerner, he shared the Northern man's love for the union and hatred of slavery. The seventh of March speech showed that Webster in his declining days was able to triumph over sectionalism and speak as an American. That was what Clay had been doing for forty years. He still refused, as late as 1850, to recognize that we had become practically two nations, and that even the nominal connection would be broken unless one conquered the other. The Compromise of 1833 came into conflict with the American System, the "six Texas Manifestos" of 1844 did not entirely harmonize with one another, but in the broadest sense there was no inconsistency in either case. Protection, the annexation of Texas, even the abolition of slavery itself, were questions of minor importance as compared with the establishment of good feeling between the sections. He was a compromiser, but no one who knew him ever questioned his sincerity.

Some new evidence is given to show the absurdity of the "corrupt bargain" charge. Clay's consciousness of his own integrity frequently led him to make serious political blunders. He ought not to have accepted the secretaryship of state in 1825 and he ought not to have acted as attorney for the United States Bank. However sure he may be of himself, a public man should avoid even the appearance of evil.

Mr. Rogers rarely breaks the bonds of restraint which he has imposed upon himself. He is, however, not entirely just in his discussion of the Mexican War and the Texas boundary dispute. Even if it were true that "Texas originally only had a respectable right to about one-half of what now constitutes the State" (p. 339), did not the United States force Mexico to recognize the Rio Grande frontier, and was not the Texas claim above El Paso just as valid as that below? The account of the Missouri Compromises is indequate, and no distinction is made between the compromise of 1820 and that of 1821. More emphasis, too

might have been laid upon Clay's adherence to the essential Whig doctrine of opposition to the extension of the executive prerogative (See Schurz's Clay, II., 186-187). Notwithstanding a few minor defects such as these, the book on the whole is well written, well proportioned, accurate, and interesting—a useful addition to the literature of the great border state leader.

W. Roy Smith.

Bryn Mawr College.

Captain John Smith. By Tudor Jenks. Cloth, O., pp. xi+239. Illustrated. New York: The Century Company, 1904.

The author explains the appearance of this new biography by saying that in his opinion there is a place for a story of Smith's life based on Smith's own writings and aiming simply to explain and interpret to modern readers the accounts written for seventeenth century Englishmen. He believes that Smith has been wrongly treated by those who have paid so much attention to the "Three Turks' Heads." and to the Pocahontas episode, and his intention is to emphasize the career of Smith as soldier, explorer, and statesman-like founder of the first English colony in America. The task he has accomplished well, and in clear and simple language. Evidently the author wrote primarily for young readers, but more mature students may profit by a reading of this book. The first third of the volume is devoted to an account of Smith's boyhood, his travels on the continent, and his service against the Turks; the remaining chapters to a sketch of his career in the New World, struggling against the jealousy of other leaders, exploring the Indian country, procuring food for the Virginia settlers, disciplining the "gentlemen" who would not work, and through it all showing himself to be a man of good common sense. America owes much to John Smith for turning the thoughts

of its early settlers from dreams of gold and precious jewels and empire to fishing and farming. He is not set forth as a hero; but "he was less selfish, broader minded, more patriotic than the Pilgrims; and in the Virginian colony Smith established an influence without which New England might have remained narrow and provincial." And to quote further, "He was a plucky, clear sighted, resourceful Englishman; an able soldier, a brave man, whose strength of will, courage, and belief in America's future saved the Virginia colony from ruin, and thus laid truly and firmly the foundation stone upon which has been erected the great Republic.

The book will be useful to offset some of the over-critical accounts of Smith and to indicate his proper place in the history of the New World.

The illustrations are well-chosen, taken for the most part from the first edition of Smith's "General History." There is a picture of the ruins of the old Jamestown church as it now is, and a reproduction of Smith's coat of arms, showing the three Turks' heads.

SAMUEL CHAPMAN ARMSTRONG: A biographical study. By Edith Armstrong Talbot. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904. O. pp. vi+21+301, 8 ills., 8 ports. of Armstrong, cloth, $1.50 net.

This book is a life of General Armstrong and not primarily an account of his work for the negro and the Indian at Hampton. The first half deals with the early life and training of its subject, with his youth in Hawaii, his college course at Williams, and with his life in the Federal army, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of colored troops.

It was not till the war was over that Armstrong, now a stranded brevet brigadier general, found himself and began his life work for the negro in the service of the Freedman's

Bureau. Here he had ample opportunity to see their needs and, breaking away from the reconstruction idea that classical education was a cure-all for the ills of the newly emancipated slave, he turned to the older one that salvation was to come through the training of the hand. It is to the history of the work of General Armstrong in founding Hampton Institute in 1867, nursing and developing the same into a sturdy manhood, that the latter half of the book is devoted, but the account here given is all too short and imperfect to furnish an adequate idea of the institution and its great work. But it does give us a most vivid and distinct idea of the force, will, and indomitable perseverance of the man who bore the growing institution for twenty-six years on his shoulders collecting from year to year the necessary money and thus making possible a higher life for hundreds of negroes who but for the work of General Armstrong could never have had opened to them the door of hope.

WORKING WITH THE HANDS. By Booker T. Washington. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. 1904. O. pp. x+246. 1 port., 32 ills., cloth, $1.50 net.

The prominence which has come to Mr. Washington in recent years as an educator is making him a voluminous author. Many think that his best literary work is to be found in his Sunday evening talks to his students. These have been printed in *Character Building*. His *Up from Slavery* has been widely read and highly praised. The present volume is a sequel to the latter and embodies the author's experiences in industrial training at Tuskegee Institute. In fact it is an exposition of the methods and plans and of the every day work of that institution. There are chapters devoted to its various activities with remarks explaining and discussing the same, showing the lowly beginnings, the rapid and continued growth, the drawbacks, the hindrances, the hopes and fears which are all considered

in a manly, straightforward way. The whole may be counted as a special brief for Tuskegee,—a sort of glorified annual catalogue, with the names of students left out and the whole put into literary form.

But with all of Mr. Washington's enthusiasm for the school which he has built up and for which so much credit is due there is never a word of the system on which Tuskegee, Hampton, Carlisle, Haskell, and all similar institutions for the industrial training of dependent races are built. That system is no other than the system of slavery. It is on the teachings of the slave system that Tuskegee is built. The reconstruction idea of education for the freedmen was literary and classical. Such work, whether for negro or Indian for the next few generations at least, is fore-doomed to failure. It was only when thinkers began to look back to the plantation life of the South that there appeared light in the darkness. The Southern planter with the complex organization of the society of which he was master furnished the model. On his estate was the slave trained to the carpenter's trade, or to that of shoemaking, blacksmithing or tailoring, as the case might be, while his wife gave to the girls similar training along lines suitable to their sex. The planter and his wife were the first superintendents of industrial schools for dependent races. *Working with the Hands* describes the work of Tuskegee to-day, *mutatis mutandis* it might describe the slave life so vividly told in Mrs. Susan Dabney Smeade's *Memorials of a Southern Planter,* or in Rev. James Battle Avirett's *The Old Plantation.* No sincerer testimony to that system is possible than its essential reproduction under changed conditions by the Federal soldier at Hampton, by the ex-slave at Tuskegee and by the Federal government in its many schools scattered all over the West for the industrial training of the Indian.

THE HISTORY OF NEGRO SERVITUDE IN ILLINOIS AND OF THE SLAVERY AGITATION IN THAT STATE, 1719-1864. By N. Dwight Harris, Ph. D. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. D. pp. x+11.+276, 2 ills., 6 ports.

This work was originally prepared for a doctor's dissertation in the University of Chicago and shows many of the characteristics of the doctorial thesis. It traces with considerable minuteness the negro question in Illinois from the time of the earliest French settlers who brought slaves with them from Louisiana through the period of American immigration from the old South in the first years of the last century down to the fifties, when the local question of slavery in Illinois had been merged into the greater one of slavery in the United States. Illinois was admitted as a free state but it was not until the rejection of the proposal for a new convention in 1824 that the slave question was finally settled. From that time on there were sporadic cases of negroes bound to servitude for life or for a limited number of years and this distinction was maintained as late as 1845. The freedom of the negro was, however, only a nominal matter. He was discountenanced, discouraged and handicapped in many ways.

The work has been written very largely from original documents, but the author complains of the scattered condition of his materials. The thirteen page bibliography is divided into four sections, 1719-1818, 1818-1824, 1824-1840, 1840-1870, to correspond with the same divisions in the body of the work and each section is further divided according to the character of the works cited. There is a six page index.

A valuable contribution to the vast racial question among us is an article contributed by Mr. A. H. Stone, of Mississippi, to the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for February, 1905 (Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., reprint).

During six years, on a large plantation in the fertile Mississippi delta, the owners offered unusually good inducements for families with the aim of improving them financially so that it would be to their interest to remain steady occupants on the land. The experiment was a failure since the migratory instinct was so strong in these black people as to keep them constantly changing their homes, in one year nearly fifty per cent. having hunted new quarters. Of the seventy-nine families who started with the project, only eight continued to the end. Of the more than one hundred who removed not one acquired real estate. This practical illustration throws considerable light on the negro character as from the figures given by Mr. Stone these agricultural laborers are perhaps the most favored in the whole world, and yet the planters are almost desperate over the trouble in getting their rich acres properly tilled. Mr. Stone's experience, it is safe to say, is matched by numberless examples throughout the South.

Of like interest is Mr. Stone's paper on the fitness of Italians for the cotton field, in *South Atlantic Quarterly* for last January. There is promise that the Italian will eventually drive the negro from his last stronghold.

Prof. Walter L. Fleming, of the West Virginia State University, Morgantown, is collecting a mass of material, documentary and otherwise, on the reconstruction period which, as heretofore announced, will be published by the Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio, possibly next September. Professor Fleming is making a very comprehensive examination of this vast subject and intends to cover not only the legislative and military side, but the political and social as well, treating the whole experiment even down to the nullification of the efforts by the disfranchising acts of the Southern States within the last few years. He has been

giving a course on reconstruction in the West Virginia State University, and has prepared for the aid of his class a very full syllabus, with references (fifty typewritten pages mimeographed). He has also issued numbers six and seven of his series of reconstruction documents bearing on the Freedman's Bureau and Savings Bank (paper, pages sixty-three, $.30, $1 annually). As a preliminary to this interest in the *post bellum* negro problem may be mentioned his reprint from Vol. IV., of the Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society, of his study of the Buford expedition to Kansas in 1855 (paper, pages 167-192, Montgomery, Alabama, 1904). The facts of this effort for capturing Kansas by Southern immigration were gathered chiefly from printed sources as there seems to have been little manuscript record left by Buford.

In a pamphlet of thirty-one pages, taken from the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1903, we have a view of the monumental services to education in the South of J. L. M. Curry, for several years President of the Southern History Association. The major portion is contributed by A. D. Mayo, on Dr. Curry's work as agent for the Peabody fund, rather discursive on the general history of that donation but still very thoughtful and judicious. There is also the eulogium of E. A. Alderman, of somewhat strained eloquence. Very fittingly one of Dr. Curry's most vigorous and incisive addresses is also included, but for condensed clearness and strength there is no estimate the equal of the formal minute adopted by the Peabody trustees, presumably drafted by D. C. Gilman.

The North Carolina *Booklet* for November, 1904, is by W. J. Peele, and deals with Raleigh's colony on Roanoke Islands, discussing the location of various places mentioned in the contemporary texts. The number for December is by

Capt. S. A. Ashe, and deals with Rutherford's expedition against the Cherokees in 1776. The number for January is by Professor Collier Cobb, and considers various changes in the North Carolina Coast since 1585, including the closing and opening of inlets. The number for February is by Judge James C. MacRae, and deals with the Highland-Scotch settlement in and around Fayetteville. These people of whom Judge MacRae is one, have been very prominent in North Carolina, and have done much to build up the State.

The fifth number of the *James Sprunt Historical Monographs* of the University of North Carolina is edited by Prof. Kemp P. Battle, and presents the Minutes of the Kehuckey (Kehilkey) Baptist Association of North Carolina, 1769-1777, now first printed from the original records. This was the first Baptist Association in the State and these first records have never been in print before, although some of the minutes of the annual sessions are known to have been printed prior to 1800, and are in existence in the printed form.

President J. M. Morehead, of the Guilford Battleground Co., has published a poem on a noble oak within the enclosure (paper, pages eight). The park on the site of this conflict in our revolutionary struggle contains one hundred acres and a museum of memorials besides some score of monuments, all done by private effort with the aid of the legislature of North Carolina.

A clear sight is shown in the report of the Historical Commission of North Carolina for 1903-1905 (paper, pages seven, Raleigh, 1904). They know what to do because they declare that the real work of such an institution is connected with making available the original sources. A still better thing will be to do this if they have the strength of will.

Number 6 of the *Historical Papers* of Washington and Lee University (pages 136, paper, 1904) is composed of another installment of W. H. Ruffner's history of Washington College and a treatment of a volunteer company of the students who went out to battle in 1861 as a part of the Stonewall brigade. Dr. Ruffner has done his work most entertainingly, basing it largely on the records, though he does not cumber his pages with foot notes and references. He is almost an original source himself. In the second part of this publication we have a list of the young men who entered the Confederate army and a history of the bloody service that they saw, prepared by two members of the force, G. B. Strickler and A. T. Barclay.

Mrs. P. H. Mell, Clemson College, South Carolina, has reprinted from the Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society her investigation of the revolutionary soldiers buried in Alabama (paper, pages 527-572, Montgomery, Alabama, 1904, from Vol. IV.). It was a work of vast labor involving search of documents, newspapers, family records, and other original sources. References are often given though foot notes seldom appear. Mrs. Mell has also contributed to the college paper a very entertaining description of the old home of John C. Calhoun, preserved there on the grounds of the institution.

No one but a teacher, or a student wishing to write something similar, will ever read Prof. E. D. Adams's "Influence of Grenville on Pitt's Foreign Policy, 1787-1798," though it is most heroically scientific, being decked out in all the paraphernalia of references, foot notes, bibliography, and other signs and symbols of Ph. D. history (Carnegie Institution, publication No. 13, Washington, D. C., pages 79, paper). However, some day a man with power of imagination and creation will come along and bless Professor

Adams for making this pile of homely bricks which this builder will cull over to get a few to go into his structure. That will be all the good from this labor and Professor Adams's name will hardly be mentioned. But he has plenty of brethren in the same neglected boat with himself.

With a bristling array of foot notes, Mr. E. C. Barker, Austin, Texas, gives a scientific study of the Texas revolutionary finances, basing his investigations almost entirely on the original sources (*Political Science Quarterly,* Vol. XIX, No. 4, Boston, Ginn & Co., reprinted). The Texans were very shifty and managed their money matters very skilfully, with little embarrassment to the people, as the total debt at the end of the struggle in 1836 was something over one million dollars. Very cold is the method, very dry, but very correct, as with scientific historians, but Mr. Baker has perhaps saved the great generalizer some trouble.

One of the first books on the United States Constitution was written by William Rawle, a Philadelphia lawyer. He unequivocally argues the right of secession. At great labor Mr. Robert Bingham, Asheville, N. C., has gathered considerable evidence, though not absolutely conclusive, that this book was a part of the prescribed study at West Point when Lee and Davis and other Confederate leaders were taught there. Hence Mr. Bingham thinks that no stigma is to be attached to the conduct of these great captains in withdrawing from the Union, and he also pleads very warmly for greater charity of opinion with regard to the war and its consequences (reprinted from the *North American Review* for September, 1904, pp. 20).

For a clear statement of the facts and figures on both sides at the battle of Shiloh, in April, 1862, Gen. M. J. Wright's article in the New Orleans *Picayune,* September

25, 1904, is to be highly commended as it is based on the official records and authentic biographies, with a spirit of absolute impartiality. He considers this the first great battle on this continent, but he does not discuss the question of what might have been if Johnston had not been killed. He includes a description of the military park there.

The Neale Publishing Company, of New York and Washington, have issued what is perhaps rather a stirring book on the Civil War, by W. C. Oates, who was a few years back rather prominent in the politics of Alabama. He is rather critical of the management of the Confederacy generally, being even a little inclined to point out faults in the career of Lee.

In the *News and Courier,* Charleston, South Carolina, January 12, 1905, is reference to a history of Camden, South Carolina, of some four hundred pages, prepared by T. J. Kirkland and R. M. Kennedy, of the locality, covering the period from 1733 to 1800.

The same paper, in its issue of January 17, 1905, was devoted to "our women in the war," being filled to the extent of over ninety columns of strong recitals of events at home during that period.

Mr. George E. Barstow, Barstow, Texas, thinks the "beautiful Pecos Valley of West Texas" has "the most charming climate" in the United States, and he predicts a great future for it (Southern Farm Magazine, April, 1905, Baltimore).

Major Thomas L. Broun, Charleston, W. Va., who has traced his genealogy back to an ancestor of George Washington and also to one of President Madison, has published results in the *Times-Dispatch,* Richmond, Va., February 12,

1905, and since republished by himself as a folio of two pages. By oversight, Sarah Ann McAdam is made the granddaughter of Joseph Ball, instead of great-granddaughter.

A new book is announced by a Charleston firm of publishers, Walker, Evans & Cogswell Company. Mr. G. M. Pinckney, of that city, who wrote a Life of Calhoun, is the author. He thinks the affairs of the nation are rapidly tending toward a crisis, which, he believes, can be averted by applying the political principles of Jefferson and Calhoun, especially the nullification doctrine of the latter. The price of the volume is fixed at $1.60.

Rev. A. H. Noll, Sewanee, Tenn., announces a new edition, by himself, of Bishop Quintard's Memoirs of the Civil War, to appear in April in a 12mo. volume of about 225 pages, at $1.50 net. Mr. Noll is the historiographer of the Diocese of Tennessee, and will receive orders for the book.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Historical Associations in the United States number nearly five hundred, divided into two great classes as to income, those aided by the public treasury in some form or other, and those dependent upon private means entirely. Generally the latter are found in the eastern part of the country, the most important being the Massachusetts Historical Society, with an annual expenditure of $18,000, the New York one with $12,000, and Pennsylvania with $24,000. On the other hand, the State of Wisconsin appropriates $43,000 annually to her State Historical Society; Iowa for historical organizations there, $17,500; Minnesota, $15,000; Kansas and Ohio, over $7,000 each; and Nebraska, $5,000. It will be noted that not a Southern State appears in this list of generous benefactors to the work of history, though Alabama and Mississippi, as well known, vote money for this purpose, about $3,000 each. (*Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April, 1905.)

Southern Indifference to History.—Mr. A. S. Salley, Secretary of the South Carolina Historical Society, declares there is not a collection in South Carolina containing one-tenth of the publications bearing on that State which he says has "the best written up history of any State in the union." The State colleges have but few, while the State library is "a disgrace to the State." By far more South Carolina books can be found in any large Northern library than in the State. In fact the State institutions do not seem to care or do not have the money. (*The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for April, 1905.)

The Virginia Historical Society, at the annual meeting the latter part of December, 1904, was happily found to

be in its usual healthy condition, with a membership of over seven hundred at five dollars each and with a financial surplus for the year. This is all the more remarkable when it is considered that there was an unusual expenditure on the building, and there was also a loss of some twenty in membership. This decline in numbers is highly creditable to the firmness of the management in dropping delinquents. This resolution has now been carried out for two years and in consequence the payments are much more prompt. It is all in all the most remarkable association in this country, as its annual expenses are met almost entirely from fees and its publications are of the highest standard not appealing to the popular taste—success all the more remarkable when we consider the financial lukewarmness of the South for history.

Confederate Battle Flags.—Without an opposing word, with all due legislative celerity and quietness, a resolution passed the last Congress, signed by the President, returning to the Southern States the flags captured during the Civil War and preserved here in Washington. Some fifteen years ago the same noble magnanimity was greeted with the most insane howls of rage and prejudice. Perhaps it was because a Democrat was President, but it is much pleasanter to think that since then wild bitterness has been softened by time, the great healer. These relics are being received by the different State Governments and will be generally placed on exhibition in the respective Capitols.

John H. Reagan.—The last surviving member of the Confederate cabinet, John H. Reagan, died at Palestine, Texas, on March 6, 1905. He had been in fairly good health up to within a few days of his death. He was born in Tennessee, on October 8, 1818, and hence was in his eighty-sixth year. He was a member of the United States Congress from 1875 to 1891, in both houses. After that he was Chairman of the Railroad Commission of Texas.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

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VOL. IX. JULY, 1905. No. 4

VICE-PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON.

BY DAVID M. DEWITT.
Kingston, N. Y.

(Concluded below.)

Accordingly, on the very afternoon of the day that Lincoln died, a caucus was held of leaders of this type; and "the feeling" among them, as one of their number has recorded, "was nearly universal that the accession of Johnson to the Presidency would prove a God-send to the country." The next day, the Committee on the Conduct of War, composed for the most part of fierce partisans such as Wade of the Senate and Julian of the House, waited on the new President at the Treasury and "Bluff Ben," as he was called, expressed the common sentiment in his own outspoken way: "Johnson, we have faith in you. By the gods, there will be no trouble now in running the government." And the earliest utterances of the new President seemed to confirm their fondest anticipations. While the body of the lamented Lincoln still lay in the White House; while it lay in state in the Capitol; while it was taking its long march across state after state to its final resting place; delegation after delegation was seeking out Lincoln's successor to hear what he

had to say. Extraordinary precautions had been taken to guard him from the fate of his predecessor, but he heeded neither guards nor detectives and opened his doors to everybody without exception and without a thought of fear. To all his visitors—committees and delegations—he spoke in his characteristic repetitious manner, hammering away at the one thought uppermost in his mind as being the most appropriate to the crisis; viz: the treasonableness of treason. Treason must be made odious.

> "We say in our statutes that murder is a crime, that arson is a crime and that treason is a crime." "Burglary is a crime and has its penalities, murder is a crime and has its penalties."

His favorite illustration was drawn from the fearful tragedy just enacted.

> "I repeat, who * * * here would say that the assassin, if taken, should not suffer the penalties of his crime. Then, if you take the life of one individual for the murder of another, and believe that his property should be confiscated, what should be done with one who is trying to assassinate the nation?"

Utterances like these, repeated again and again for days—chiming in as they did with the popular desire for vengeance which the assassination had raised to the point of frenzy—were hailed as the oracles of a second Daniel come to judgment.

Days laden with momentous events passed by. The twice-chosen ruler of the people—"with malice towards none, with charity for all"—was buried out of the way; the Sherman-Johnston convention, restoring the Union at one stroke and proclaiming: "Peace from the Potomac to the Rio Grande," was repudiated with contumely; two hundred thousand soldiers of the armies of the North paraded the streets of the capital on the way to their homes; the armies of the South melted away, so that soldier was no longer distinguishable from civilian; the leaders of the collapsed Confederacy, who had been captured or had surrendered, were now in

close custody, and the rest had fled the country; over the whole wide theatre of rebellion there rested the quiet of exhaustion and death. The stage was clear for the initiation of the experiment of making treason odious.

A brief exposition of the reason why this experiment failed at the very outset will fitly close this sketch of the man who was expected to carry it through.

In the first place, it should be noted that nowhere, either in the country or in the cabinet—not even during the temporary madness succeeding the assassination—was there any clamor for a reign of terror at the South. The masses were to go unscathed. Even the most zealous for proscription, including those who afterwards denounced the President because he punished nobody, demanded but comparatively few victims; and these selected from the prominent secessionists of 1861. In this direction the President and his party were of one mind. As he declared at the time of his accession: "And while I say as to the leaders punishment, I also say leniency, conciliation and amnesty to the thousands who have been misled and deceived."

His proclamation of amnesty was in strict accordance with this utterance and provoked no remonstrances from any quarter. On the contrary, its exceptions being more extensive than those of a similar proclamation of his predecessor, it was hailed as a token of the wholesomer severity of the present incumbent; the number left out of its clemency being large enough for a holocaust satisfactory to the most ferocious patriot.

The moment, however, this policy of exemplary punishment of the leaders once came to be put into practice, problems of great perplexity sprang up on every side. The chief of the overthrown Confederacy, from the very circumstance of his position, must be the first and foremost to undergo the extreme penalty of the law; there was, in fact, a widespread demand for his execution, and the President and his

cabinet—the President particularly—were anxious for his speedy trial. But at the very first step, the question arose: For what crime shall he be tried? The military commission that condemned the accused co-conspirators of Booth before it, also found guilty of complicity in the assassination Jefferson Davis, as well as other Confederates, who were not before it. Such a judgment, at the first glance, seemed to put the neck of the late President of the Confederate States at the mercy of the President of the Union. Select the same or another board of army officers; bring Jefferson Davis before it; produce the same witnesses; the verdict would be a foregone conclusion, sentence of death must follow and, with the approval of the President, could be carried out within twenty-four hours.

Two powerful objections, however, stood in the way of the adoption of this easy method. First: "The common law of war" might be good enough for "jay-hawkers and banditti," as Attorney-General Speed held the persons actually arraigned before the military commission to be; but the government naturally shrank from putting such a novel discovery in jurisprudence in force in the case of a prisoner so conspicuous in the world's eye. The misgivings concerning the constitutional competency of a tribunal of soldiers to try a citizen in localities where the civil courts were open for any crime whatever, were beginning to assume portentous dimensions. At the last session of Congress, on motion of Henry Winter Davis, the House of Representatives tacked on to the miscellaneous appropriation bill a section making all such trials invalid; and the entire bill failed to pass because of the disagreement between the two Houses over this amendment. The judgment of a military commission, sitting at Indianapolis, condemning to death a citizen by the name of Milligan, was on the way to the Supreme Court of the United States for review; and that high tribunal did subsequently reverse it as a clear contravention of a consti-

tutional right. An objection so formidable as this, but one consideration could by possibility have overcome, viz: the testimony in support of the charge must be so convincing and given by witnesses so reliable, that the atrocity of the proved offence would overlay the want of jurisdiction in the tribunal in the sympathies of the civilized world. But, at this point, the second objection came into play. The testimony connecting Jefferson Davis with the assassination plot, taken in secret before the military commission, would not bear the light of day; being in its subject-matter of the most flimsy and inconclusive character, grossly incompetent under the most elementary rules of evidence and proceeding from the mouths of professional witnesses testifying under pay. Several efforts were made to bolster up its obvious inadequacy. The Attorney-General was sent over the Canadian border with ten thousand dollars of government money to procure the papers of Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior under Buchanan, the contents of which, it was thought, would make Davis's complicity clear. But the person having the papers in his possession refused to treat. Several persons were brought to the Bureau of Military Justice by the leading witness employed by the government, and made affidavits corroboratory of his own testimony. But they subsequently retracted their sworn statements, and the leading witness was indicted and convicted for suborning them. So that, in the words of Seward spoken under oath, "the evidence of the alleged complicity of Jefferson Davis thereupon failed." Eyes were then turned in another direction. High hopes were entertained that the Confederate President might be implicated in the charge of cruelty to prisoners at Andersonville, for which Henry Wirz was tried and condemned by a court martial. But, in this instance also, the evidence was not forthcoming, and Wirz suffered alone.

The administration had no alternative, therefore, but to

fix upon treason as the crime, for which the distinguished culprit was to be brought to trial. Seeing that treason was the crime that was to be made odious, the President naturally preferred that the head-offender should be tried for that offence, of the guilt of which, surely, there could be no lack of evidence. But, here, too, the question intruded itself: By what kind of court? The Attorney-General, who so recently held that the accused assassins could be, and, indeed, ought to be, tried by a board of army officers, was now just as firm in the opinion that no person could be lawfully tried for treason by any other tribunal than a common law jury. Seward, we learn with some astonishment, thought that Davis might be tried for treason by military commission; but the other members of the cabinet, so far as any opinion was expressed, sided with the Attorney-General, whose views, besides, were endorsed by several eminent counsel. Stanton himself thought that "Davis ought not to be tried before any tribunal whose jurisdiction was seriously questioned or disputed."

The constitutional mode of procedure being unavoidable, the next question was where shall the trial take place, in the North or in the South? An indictment for treason against Jefferson Davis, found by a grand jury in the District of Columbia, was pending; and what more appropriate place for the trial of the arch-traitor could there be than the capital of the Federal Union? But the Attorney-General again interposed with an official opinion that the prisoner could only be tried by a jury of the vicinage where he had been personally present when the overt act laid in the indictment was committed; thus shutting off all those places in the northern or border States where the Confederate armies, or offshoot expeditions from them, had carried the war; and the treason act of 1790, besides, providing, as it did, that the lapse of three years from the commission of the crime barred an indictment, every act of Davis during the first

year of the war committed in the District of Columbia was beyond the reach of the civil courts. A suggestion was made to lay the venue in East Tennessee, where, as it happened, the Confederate President had visited his army; but, after anxious consideration, the President and his Attorney-General both concluded that it would not look seemly to locate the trial so near the President's own home.

The place of trial, therefore, being practically restricted to the State of Virginia, the government was compelled to look for a verdict against the leader of the rebellion from a jury made up of persons who, if they had not been actual participants, had at least made no active opposition. This mode of prosecution nevertheless found favor with the President. What he wanted was a trial of historic celebrity, the champion of secession for the culprit, and the treasonableness of secession for the issue. His purpose was defined in his first message:

> "It is manifest that treason, most flagrant in its character, has been committed. Persons who are charged with its commission should have fair and impartial trials in the highest tribunals of the country, in order that the Constitution and the laws may be fully vindicated; the truth clearly established and affirmed that treason is a crime, that traitors should be punished and the offence made infamous; and, at the same time, that the question may be judicially settled, finally and forever, that no State of its own will has the right to renounce its place in the Union."

With this view, eminent counsel—ex-Governor Clifford, of Massachusetts, and William M. Evarts, of New York—were employed to assist the Attorney-General, and Chief Justice Chase was requested to preside over the court. But difficulties gathered thick and fast. In the first place, with the law as it was then, incapacitating from service as a juror every man who had formed or expressed an opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the accused, how could a jury be obtained? And, supposing this initial embarrassment overcome, what momentous questions might be raised on the trial! The character of the Federal Bond; the reserved

right of a State to withdraw; the lawfulness of the invasion of a State by the armed force of the Union, and the correlative criminality of resistance; the guilt or innocence of a citizen, who, being forced to incur the penalty of treason against his own State or the penalty of treason against the United States, clings to his immediate liege lord rather than recognize the remoter fealty of the common sovereign; the effect upon the participants in the rebellion of the concession of belligerent rights; all these questions, illuminated by three-quarters of a century of debate, would be pressed, not only upon the court, but upon the jury. The arraignment, trial and condemnation of so gigantic a rebellion in the person of its titular head, in a court of the Federal Union, sitting in the fallen capital of the overthrown Confederacy, presided over by the Chief Justice of the United States, and conducted in strict accordance with the impartiality characteristic of our civil tribunals, undoubtedly would be a world-historic spectacle! But what if the result were problematical? What if the trial put in jeopardy not alone the life of the prisoner, but the life of the Union?

As a matter of fact from the moment it became certain that to punish the leaders of the rebellion military commissions and courts-martial were no longer available, a strong feeling began to pervade the councils of the dominant party that it would be the height of foolhardiness to risk the unsettlement of the verdict of the war before a jury of twelve citizens of Virginia. James F. Wilson, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, in a speech delivered in June, 1866, referring to the suggestion of the President's message quoted above, wrought himself up into a surprising state of nervous agitation over what he denounced as a most alarming proposition:

"Courts have nothing to do with such a question. It would be a crime against the people for judges to permit its discussion and judicial treason for them to assume jurisdiction over it."

"Armies alone can discuss it. Battles alone can decide it. The

certainty that the Supreme Court is now sound on the question is no apology for the presence of this serpent nestling in the message. Judges may die, parties may change. Treason may sometimes be enrobed on the bench. Doutbless Jeff Davis, should he ever be brought to trial, would like to have his case crowned with a judicial affirmance of the right of a State to renounce its place in the Union, and thereby win for himself and for the South that which armies could not secure for them—the disintegration of the Republic."

"Once admit the right of a State to secede from the Union is a debatable question to be determined by the courts, and you will have done more toward the destruction of the government than was ever done by armed treason on the field of battle."

"The issue was tried by armies and resolved in favor of the indissoluble unity of the Republic. Shall we now permit an appeal from this decision to the courts of the nation? Is not the question settled? When is this thing to end? When shall we know that we are a nation?"

Pressed by the pertinent inquiry, what was the judge to do should the defendant's counsel insist upon raising the issues, he could only answer: "Simply to say 'this is an issue which cannot be tried in this court' "—leaving out of view the contingency that the jury might acquit, or refuse to convict on that very question. And an acquittal, or even a failure to convict, was so pregnant with tremendous consequences that every officer whose duty might call him to be an actor in the movement might well pause. The district attorney of the Richmond district believed a conviction could be secured. The Attorney-General was inclined to agree with his subordinate. Evarts was of the contrary opinion. The President, however, was troubled with no misgivings. Influenced by his belief that the masses of the South had been dragooned into rebellion by the leaders, he apprehended no difficulty in getting a proper jury; and, regarding as he did the Constitution with a superstitious reverence, he had no fears that any advocate, no matter how eminent, could read into that glorious instrument a doctrine he had always contended was utterly groundless. While vindictive partisans were grumbling that the President was proving false to his brave declarations and imitating Lincoln in soft-heartedness towards traitors, the President was

in truth the only member of the Administration who did not distrust the policy of retrying the issues of the war before a Southern jury. He would have gone right on to judgment; first, in the case of the Confederate President and then in the cases of the more prominent leaders. Whether, when he came face to face with the infliction of the death penalty, he would not have paused may be a question. But impediment after impediment, delay after delay, interposed, for which he was not responsible and could not avert. Chase refused to hold court in Richmond until the State was cleared of the military, and the Attorney-General was unwilling to bring on a trial that involved questions of such pith and moment before a judge of inferior rank. The postponement of the leading case carried all the other prosecutions with it. Eighteen persons, including General Lee, had been indicted for treason at Norfolk. Lee, as well as Johnston, and the officers and soldiers of the two armies, were protected by the terms of surrender, as General Grant contended in opposition to the opinion of the President. The statute of limitations of 1790 barred the prosecution of many of the leading advocates of secession in the year 1861. And the same difficulty with a jury of the vicinage and the same peril of an adverse verdict or of a disagreement clung around the most ordinary case. Everywhere the prison doors began to open; Stephens and Clay and Reagan and Mallory and the other captured Confederates were set at large on parole. If the saying of Toombs: "When traitors become numerous enough treason becomes respectable," on which Andrew Johnson once expended a flood of animadversion, had not come to pass, it certainly began to look as though when traitors became numerous enough treason became unpunishable. "To draw an indictment against a whole people," was conceded from the first to be nugatory. To draw indictments against individuals guilty only of an offence common to a whole people came to appear invidious and unjust as well as nugatory.

To conclude: That the triumphant close of the most stupendous civil war in the history of the world was not stained with the blood of a single man among the vanquished, was not due to the magnanimity of the party in power; was not due to the magnanimity of the Congress or the President; not even to the magnanimity of the victorious North; but is to be attributed precisely to the fact that the civil war was so stupendous, that the rebellion suppressed was so widespread in area and so unanimous with the population. In truth, it was not properly a rebellion; it was not properly an insurrection; it was the uprising in a struggle for independence of eight millions of people occupying an extent of territory fit for an empire. To such an enormous case, the constitutional modes of procedure for the trial and punishment of individual offenders could not be made to fit. They broke in the handling. You could not inaugurate a Bloody Assize, like that of Jeffrey's, over a continent where the jurors must necessarily be drawn from sympathizers with the accused. You could not prosecute and punish the ringleaders, as in Shay's Rebellion or in the Whiskey Insurrection—mere sporadic outbursts in the midst of a law-abiding population. A bill of attainder naming the Confederate leaders would have met the case exactly; and there is very little doubt that the majority in Congress at one time were in a mood to have swept aside the slow, uncertain, tantalizing and, indeed in this case, virtually impracticable process of the civil courts, and plunged headlong into a usurpation of the functions of the judiciary themselves. But the Constitution stood inexorably in the way; and they were forced to look on in impotent wrath, while so-called traitor after traitor was set at liberty because of the inability or the unwillingness of the government to bring him to trial. They hastened to lay the responsibility for this state of things upon the President, charging him with fickleness of purpose and treachery to principle, in that he had not exemplified the

odiousness of "treason" by dealing summarily with the leading "traitors." But the President must be acquitted of any such responsibility. Inconsiderate in his utterances at the crisis of his accession he may have been, and deficient in foresight in not anticipating impediments to the putting of punitive measures into practice. But this is the full extent of his offending. He certainly continued to press for the punishment of treason by constitutional methods even after the more sagacious radicals had recognized the peril, as well as the futility of such a course; and, in the face of the iron-bound circumstances of the case, the President, it is clear, was as powerless as the Congress itself. That this is the truth of the matter appears from the fact that the breach between the majority in Congress and the President did not take place on this point of difference, but on the President's policy of reconstruction. We should have heard nothing of Johnson's breach of his promises to make treason odious, had it not been for his headlong haste to restore the Union of the Fathers. The non-fulfillment of these promises could work no danger to the party in power, for clemency to the vanquished was sure to meet the ultimate approval of the Northern people and was after all dictated by the exigency of the times, for which no particular person could be held responsible. On the other hand, the policy of reconstruction adopted by the executive put in jeopardy the party's very existence.

And yet it was upon this very life-and-death issue, that neither the party as a whole nor any of its factions could make good the charge of inconsistency, apostacy or tergiversation against the executive. Upon the question of the punishment of the rebel leaders, the radicals may have had some cause of complaint that Andrew Johnson in action turned out so different a man from Andrew Johnson in speech. But upon the question of reconstruction, they had none whatever. Upon that question, his course had been perfectly

consistent and straightforward from the very beginning. Not a single utterance in the past committed him to any other. He was simply fulfilling the pledges he had made to the people of his own State; simply following an example he had himself set in the reconstruction of Tennessee; simply remaining true to the principle he had enunciated as long ago as November, 1863, when, in a letter to Postmaster-General Blair, he warned President Lincoln to beware of "the proposition of States relapsing into territories and held as such;" in fine, simply carrying out that policy which, at his inauguration as Vice-President, he succeeded in enunciating to the shocked audience before him.

(Concluded.)

THE FIRST CLASH IN THE TEXAS REVOLUTION —THE TAKING OF ANAHUAC BY TRAVIS. DOCUMENTS, 1835.

(Concluded below.)

The Aggressions of Thompson.

Velasco, *August 29th, 1835.*

The undersigned citizens of the Department of Nacogdoches in Texas do hereby certify that on or about the 25th of July they sailed in company with several other persons from the Town of Anahuac, to visit several places on Galveston Bay, and that Capt. Thomas M. Thompson, Commander of the Mexican Schooner of War Correo,..... invited ourselves and party on board his schooner, as we sailed together down the bay, which invitation was accepted, and while on board said Schr., the owner of the sloop in which we sailed requested Capt. Thompson to give him a permit for his sloop to proceed in a fews days to Velasco with the subscribers, which permit he, Capt. T. promised to give at Galveston Island. On our arrival at said island a few days after, however, the Capt. sent his boat out to us but sent no permit, and proceeded next day to sea, stating that he was bound for Matamoras. In the course of conversation on board the Schr., the Capt. said that he was authorized to cruize from Matamoras along the coast to the Sabine river, that he was the commandant of the ports included in those limits.

And the subscribers further certify that on or about the 10th inst. they had engaged the sloop before mentioned to sail from Anahuac for Velasco, and had put their property and provisions on board, but were prevented from sailing by

headwinds, that during this their delay, Capt. Thompson returned to Anahuac, and embargoed the sloop in which the subscribers had intended to saii, although there was at the same time a schooner of about the same size and more seaworthy, lying idle in the port, that the said Thompson being called on for an explanation said that he had fallen in with Capt. Pettit of the Schooner Bravo, who had given him dispatches from General Cos, directing to return to the Bay of Galveston, and await the arrival of troops at that place, and that having important despatches and officers on board his vessel for Matamoras, he was under the necessity of having a vessel for that purpose, and that no other than the one he had taken would answer, that the property of the subscribers was ordered to be put ashore, and the vessel taken alongside the Correo and refitted, and the two subscribers A. C. Allen, and A. G. Yates further state, that they were subsequently informed by an officer on board the Correo, that the said Thompson did not take said sloop for the purpose of sending her to Matamoras, but merely to cruise on Galveston Bay, and further said that Capt. Pettit had given Capt. Thompson no new despatches, and it is in the knowledge of all the subscribers from the owner of the sloop, or his agent, that said owner fearful of losing his sloop entirely, proposed to T. that he should purchase her, and T. offered one hundred dollars therefor, which amount said owner was compelled to accept, though the same was not considered more than half her value. And said T. further stated to the subscribers that he had declared the port of Brazos in a state of Blockade, and should take all vessels entering there as prizes, that he had notified Capt. Pettit to that effect, and should take him, if he fell in with him. That the steamboat Cayuga was also a prize and he intended to take her as such at the first opportunity. That he had landed 300 troops at Copano, and that a full and sufficient force under General Cos would be introduced into Texas immediately to retain

its submission. And I. N. Moreland, one of the subscribers, hereto further said that he heard the said T. offer one thousand dollars reward for the apprehension and delivery of Mr. Travis to him and added thereto that he, Thompson, would swing said Travis at his yard arm in less than half an hour after his delivery; and A. C. Allen further states that he applied to said Thompson for a permit for the said schooner lying in the said bay, to proceed to Velasco with the subscribers and return with 5 barrels of flour and 18 bags of coffee, of which articles the families and stores in Anahuac were nearly destitute at the time, and said Thompson refused such permit. And the subscribers further say that they have heard said Thompson repeatedly say that he intended to take all the negro slaves in the country that he could get in his possession and offer them their liberty after one year's service, and that there were no slaves legally indented in Texas.

And said Moreland further says that he heard said Thompson say that all vessels and persons on board thereof, found sailing in the waters of Texas or on its coast without a permit from him or in his absence from the Captain of the Port, when found, were liable to be seized and pressed into the Mexican service.

A. J. Yates,
I. N. Moreland,
A. C. Allen.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, J. Brown, Commissario; August 29th, 1835.

[From *The Texas Republican,* September 19, 1835.]

Cos to the Ayuntamiento of Columbia.

Commandancy General and Inspection of the Interior States of the East:

The Supreme Government of the republic and this Commandancy has at all times made a distinction between those

inhabitants of Texas who are faithful to their oath and to the Laws, and those faithless adventurers who have nothing to risque in a revolution, and who occupy themselves only in disturbing the public order and misleading and perverting the incautious.

The scandalous attack upon Anahuac, criminal in every point of view, did, indeed, create for a moment a doubt of the loyalty of the inhabitants of Texas to the Mexican Government, because it was made to appear as the act of all, done by order of the Political Chief of Brazos; but I have had the greatest satisfaction to-day in reading the exposition which various citizens of your town directed to Col. Dn. Domingo de Ugartechea dated the 17th of last month, in which they manifest explicitly their regret and disappprobation of the circumstances, and renew the assurances of obedience to the laws of the Republic. This conduct confers upon them at the same time honor and security.

As it is impossible that the attack made on the Garrison of Anahuac should pass with impunity, I require and stimulate the patriotism of your honor to proceed immediately and without excuse to the apprehension of the ungrateful and bad citizen W. B. Travis, who headed the revolutionary party; and to cause him to be conducted to Bexar in the safest manner and placed at the disposal of the Principal Commandant of the State, in order that he may be tried and punished according to Law. I am informed the above named Travis is an injury to these inhabitants of Texas, and it is a shame that the public authorities should in cold blood be tolerating his excesses when he ought to have been punished long ago.

If your honor and the good inhabitants of that department would give an unequivocal proof of your attachment to public order, and desire never to be compromitted in the outrages committed by Travis, it is necessary that you should without hesitation cast aside every motive of misplaced con-

sideration or compassion and proceed with the greatest activity and reserve, so that by the chastisement of the delinquent no doubt may be entertained of the good faith of those who, in the midst of peace alone, can enjoy the guaranties necessary to their prosperity and to the increase of their well acquired property.

I do not doubt that your honor will act in the manner that I have indicated, and in the meantime receive the repetition of the assurances of my respectful consideration.

God and Liberty.

MARTIN PERFECTO DE COS.

MATAMORAS, *1st of August, 1835.*

To the Political Chief of the Department of Brazos.

[MS. Austin Papers.]

MILLER TO THE AYUNTAMIENTO OF COLUMBIA.

Chieftaincy of the Department of Brazos.

In consequence of my ill-health I am unable to discharge the function of my office, I have therefore called upon Wily Martin constitutional Regidor of this Jurisdiction, to take charge of the office. (The alcade refusing to serve.)

He has this day entered upon his official duties.

God and Liberty.

J. B. MILLER.

To the Illustrious Ayuntamiento of the Jurisdiction of Columbia. San Felipe de Austin, July 19th, 1835.

[From a newspaper clipping.]

BRUTUS TO MILLER.

To James B. Miller, Esq., Political Chief of the Department of Brazos:

Sir: .....You must be candid enough to admit that Texas is now in a horrible state of anarchy, confusion and uncertainty as to her future fate. Have not your official acts

tended in a great degree to bring about this state of things in this department? Remember your proclamation of the 21st of June, calling the people under arms. Remember your official order to the different Ayuntamientos about the same date! Remember the notorious meeting held at San Felipe on the 21st of June, and presided by you! Remember the resolutions of that meeting, recommending the expeditions to Monclova and to Anahuac! Do you deny that these resolutions were approved and signed by you? If so, why did you neglect your sworn duty of attempting by legal and constitutional means to suppress them.....? I am told, sir, that you have sought to throw the blame of these acts (if blame there is) on your evil counsellors. Who were those counsellors?..... They were the men, who for purposes of their own, put you in office over the head of the most virtuous, patriotic and inflexible citizen of Texas; and you took their advice instead of that of a council of the whole people of the department. ..... You took the advice of a faction, instead of that of the whole people convened in council. ..... I will pass over several of your minor manifest violations of the laws, and ask you by what authority you have acted in abandoning your post at a critical moment and delegating the functions of your office to another? By what law do you justify yourself for vesting the Chieftaincy in the worthy person of Capt. Wily Martin? I admit the fitness and brilliant qualities of that individual, but these do not authorize you in placing your high office in his hands in direct violation of the laws, thereby making him to all intents and purposes an usurper.

'By law 37, in case of death, absence from the department, or other incapacity to serve, the First Alcalde should take the place of the Political Chief. In default of the Alcalde, the Regidors in their official order shall take the place. How was it that Martin, the Fourth Regidor, took your place? How was it, moreover, that you acted officially at Cole's Set-

tlement while Martin acted at San Felipe. You say that the Regidors Gay, Pettus and Christman (Chriesman) refused to serve; but this is not true, they were not asked. If they had been asked, they would have had no legal right to refuse.'

.....At one time you refused to commission persons to negotiate for peace with General Cos, at another you open negotiations with an attempt to execute the arbitrary orders of a petty military commandant. After you had thrown the Department in confusion without consultation, you pretended to call a council of the Department. Why did not that body meet? Because you ordered elections in some of the municipalities and omitted it in others, so that half the Department was not represented.....

"BRUTUS."

August 16, 1835.

In another column is this expression from the Editor: "We say unto Brutus, 'Speak, strike, redress!' Tell us if Wyly Martin is, or was, constitutional Political Chief? Did Miller directly or indirectly authorize Travis to capture the fort of Anahuac? Whose money did the committee give Capt. Tenorio? and how did that worthy deserve any money at their hands? Who authorized Martin to correspond with General Cos? What was the nature of the communication sent by the foreigners Gritton and Barrett? and the answer? Was Gritton really an emissary of Santa Ana's?"

[From *The Texas Republican,* September 26, 1835.]

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, ... *1835.*

By the enclosed communication from Captain Don Antonio Tenorio and the Political Chief of SanFelipe you will see that the revolutionists, losing hope of carrying their un-

dertaking to a successful end, have taken flight to the interior. I am expecting answers to the last extraordinaries that I sent to the Political Chief of the Brazos; and if by them I do not receive authentic information that Senor Zavala has been apprehended, and also of the flight of the other foreign revolutionists, I shall start as you order me with all the cavalry to the Brazos. There are now here the horses that Lieutenant Manchaca went to receive at Lipantitlan.

(No date.)

[Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.]

UGARTECHEA TO COS.

BEXAR, *Sept. 8, 1835.*

I have the honor to send you the enclosed copies of three officios that the military commandant of Nacogdoches, Colonel Don Pedro E. Bean, addressed to me by the last post. They will give you an exact idea of the very few hopes which there are at present of preserving the order and tranquility for any length of time in that department and that of San Felipe; if with the promptitude which the circumstances demand, energetic measures are not taken to put a stop to the friends of the revolution.

Captain Don Antonio Tenorio, who has just arrived, confirms officially whatever I have said, and adds that at the time of his departure from San Felipe it was said that ex-General Mexia had gathered 1,500 men in the United States of the North with the knowledge of the government. This coincides with what Don Thomas Chambers has said, that he knows commissioners of the said government are in the country, two of whom he might name, and that they had come with bad intentions and foment the revolution in Texas.

As a result of the introduction of a party of foreigners to whom Mr. Bean refers, hostilities have already begun in this department. .....

[From Sp. MS., Bexar Archives.]

(Concluded.)

LAFAYETTE'S CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA, APRIL 1781—OCT. 19, 1781.

By General Marcus J. Wright.

Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier de Lafayette was born at Chateau-Chavagnac, Auvergne, France, Sept. 6, 1757, and died in Paris, May 20, 1834. His family was one of the most ancient and eminent of the French nobility. Determining to offer his services to the cause of the American colonies in their resistance to the British, he sailed from Passages in Spain accompanied by eleven officers. After distiguished service in the northern colonies he was placed in command of the Army of Virginia, April, 1781. At this time Arnold and Philips had their united forces at Portsmouth. Their object was thought to be to move up James River, capture the magazines and destroy property. Lafayette arrived at Richmond with his troops 29th April.

Arnold was entrenching at Portsmouth fearing an attack from the Americans combined with the fleet of the Chevalier Des Touches. General Philips had arrived with reinforcements from New York on 26th March, and had reached the south side of James river, and destroyed property and treated people with cruelty. Leaving a garrison at Portsmouth, General Philips dropped down to Hampton Roads, his first design being against Williamsburg, to break up a detachment of Virginia militia. He landed at Burnell's Ferry on the 19th April and took possession of Williamsburg and Yorktown, and then marched to Barrett's Ferry, where he re-embarked up James river enroute to seize arms stored at Prince George Court House. He proceeded from thence to City Point and disembarked 24th April and continued on the south bank of the Appomattox toward Petersburg. At Blanford, near Pe-

tersburg, he encountered the militia of General Muhlenberg and attacked them the afternoon of 25th April and drove them back. Philips took possession of Petersburg, destroyed the tobacco warehouses and captured the shipping in Appomattox, and then moved to Chesterfield Court House and destroyed the stores which had been moved from Prince George Court House. Arnold moved to Warwick and set fire to all the tobacco warehouses.

Baron Steuben retreated to Chesterfield C. H., and then to Falling Creek. The British moved, 27th April, to Osbornes on the south side of James river, thirteen miles below Richmond, and to Cary's Home, near Manchester, opposite Richmond on the 29th. That day General Lafayette had moved into Richmond. Phillips' force was 2,300, Lafayette's 900 regulars, but Philips did not attack.

On 29th April the British returned to Bermuda Hundreds and embarked there on the 2d May, moving down James river and on the 7th the fleet anchored off Brandon's Home on the south side of the stream, where all the troops landed except the light infantry which were sent to City Point. Lafayette followed on the north side of the James. He arrived on 3d May at Pamunkey river, and on the 4th camped near Botton's creek, the British still below him. Lafayette at this time was serving under orders of General Greene. Greene was then watching Cornwallis in the Carolinas. After the battle of Guilford Court House, Lord Cornwallis set out with his army from Wilmington on the 25th April, 1781, and reached Halifax on the Roanoke early in May and ordered General Philips to join him at Petersburg. Soon after General Philips arrived at Petersburg (13th May) he died of a fever and his command devolved upon Benedict Arnold, the next officer in rank. While the British force was moved towards Petersburg Arnold detached Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe and Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton along the road leading south toward the Roanoke river in order to secure

the crossings of the Meherrin and the Nottoway, the only intervening streams, to facilitate the advance of Lord Cornwallis from Halifax. Lafayette returned from Botton's creek, where he had encamped 4th May—and to Richmond on the 7th, having been advised of the approach of Cornwallis. He dispatched General Wayne to hasten his movements to join him before Conwallis' could form a junction with Arnold at Petersburg, which occurred on the 20th May. General Greene wrote Lafayette after he learned of Cornwallis' maneuvre, to remain there and take command of the forces of the State. Finding the enemy too strong for him Lafayette moved to Richmond, 20th May and on the 24th Lord Cornwallis with his whole command crossed the James at Westover and moved towards the Chickahominy. He was heard to say, speaking of General Lafayette, "The boy shall not escape me." On the 27th the British army encamped at White Oak Swamp and on the 28th they were at Botton's Bridge on the Chickahominy. Lafayette moved out of Richmond on the 27th May, having removed all valuable stores. His object was to avoid Cornwallis with his superior force. He moved from Richmond to Winston's Bridge near the forks of the Chickahominy, from which he retired on the 28th May to Colonel Dandridge's on the North Anna near Goldmine creek. On the 30th he moved northward across the North Anna at Anderson's Bridge, to Mattapony Church in Spottsylvania county, where he was 2d June. He was moving parallel to the enemy, and sent orders to General Needom to collect the Virginia militia. The finest horses in the country had fallen into the hands of the enemy and the law gave liberty to impress only within twenty miles of the army, and he appealed to Governor Jefferson to extend the limit to fifty miles. Lafayette continued his march to Ely's Ford on the Rapidan, where he arrived on the 4th June. He then moved to Raccoon Ford on the Rapidan on the 7th. On the 10th June

General Wayne arrived with three regiments of the Pennsylvania Line, less than 1,000 men and six field pieces. Cornwallis had pursued Lafayette as far as Cook's Ford on the North Anna, and failing to overtake him he changed his course hastened with a view to break up the session of the General Assembly in session at Charlottesville, and also to attack Baron Steuben at the Point of Fork on James river, where he was guarding stores. Tarleton was sent with 180 cavalry and 70 mounted infantry to Charlottesville, and Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe with 500 men was detached to attack Steuben. Tarleton moved rapidly, capturing and destroying wagons and stores on his way. He captured seven members of the General Assembly and came near capturing Governor Jefferson. He then destroyed 1,000 muskets, 400 barrels of gunpowder and a large lot of continental clothing and other stores. He then moved to Rivanna river to be ready to co-operate with Colonel Simcoe. The Point of Fork to which Simcoe was ordered is a point of land enclosed by the junction of the two rivers, the Rivanna and the Fluvanna, which form the James. Steuben's position was between the two streams, near the confluence, in Fluvanna county.

Steuben had been made aware of Tarleton's intended attack, but knew nothing of Simcoe's movement, as he had moved cautiously and arrested every person he met. When Simcoe arrived on the ground he learned that Baron Steuben had begun the movement of his stores to the south side of the Fluvanna river, and that he was passing that stream with troops intending to proceed southward with his troops to join General Greene in obedience to orders. Counter orders had however been sent him by which he was directed to remain in Virginia with Lafayette, but these had never reached him, having been intercepted by Tarleton, as Simcoe knew.

The Fluvanna river was too deep to ford and the British

had no boats on the north side where they were and Baron Steuben was on the south side out of his reach. Simcoe drew his forces out in sight of Steuben to impress upon him the fact that a large part of the British army was with him. During the night Steuben retreated, leaving a large quantity of stores. Simcoe sent some men across in a canoe which one of his men had swam over and procured, who destroyed the stores, and Simcoe then marched towards Goochland Court House, where he met Tarleton and Lord Cornwallis on the 7th of June. Cornwallis with Simcoe and Tarleton were now at Elk Hill and Lafayette and General Wayne at Raccoon Ford.

Lafayette moved to the North Anna on the 10th June and crossed at Brook's Bridge and then moved southward through Louisa county to the South Anna near Busnell's Tavern, where he was on the 12th June. From there he moved by an unfrequented route to Mechunk creek. He was here joined by 600 mountain riflemen from the adjacent county and was fifteen miles to the west of the British army. Cornwallis left his camp on Elk Hill on 15th June and moved in the direction of Richmond, entering that city on the 16th. He left Richmond on the 20th, moving towards Williamsburg.

During the early part of Lafayette's campaign in Virginia, after the death of General Philips and before the arrival of Cornwallis, a communication arrived by flag of truce, relating to an exchange of prisoners. The communication was signed by Benedict Arnold. General Lafayette asked the officer who bore the letter, if General Philips was dead. To this, the officer replied in the negative, though in fact he had died two days before, but Arnold did not wish it known —whereupon Lafayette declined to receive Arnold's letter, which should have come from the British commander, being dated from British headquarters.

Upon the following day the officer returned, saying he

was now at liberty to acknowledge that General Philips was dead and that Arnold was in command of the British army in Virginia. Lafayette at once returned the letter unopened, with the verbal message that he would hold no communication with Arnold. He accompanied his verbal message with a note to the officer bearing the flag as follows: Note for Capt. Emyne.

"May 15th, 1781.

"The Major General Marquis de Lafayette has the honor to present his compliments to Captain Emyne, and begs him to recollect that on the supposition of the death of Gen'l Philips he said "that he should know in that case what to do." From regard to the English army he made use of the most polite pretence for declining all correspondence with the English General who is at this moment Commander-in-chief. But he now finds himself obliged to give a positive denial. In case any other English officer should honor him with a letter he would always be happy to give the officer every testimony of his esteem."

He soon after opened correspondence with Lord Cornwallis. Arnold was stung by Lafayette's refusal to receive his note and threatened that unless a cartel such as he suggested were agreed upon, that thereafter all American officers captured would be sent to the West Indies.

After Cornwallis moved to Richmond Lafayette followed eastwardly moving with great caution to the south bank of the North Anna, and camped at Colonel Dandridge's, twenty three miles from Richmond. From there he sent orders on 18th June to Baron Steuben to join him, which he did on the following day. Lafayette's army now numbered about 5,000 men, of whom 2,000 were Continentals and the remainder militia and riflemen. On the 18th June General Muhlenberg with his corps advanced towards Meadow Bridge to attract the enemy's attention and Colonel Tarleton, stationed at that point came out against him with his cavalry. Lafayette then

sent to Muhlenberg's assistance his light infantry and the Pennsylvanians and forced Tarleton to retire. The enemy evacuated Richmond on the 21st and Lafayette passed through there the following day.

Moving eastward and on the 22d June he threw Gen. Muhlenberg's corps forward early in the morning to the fork of the road eight miles from Botton's Bridge, and stationed General Wayne four miles east of Richmond on the following day. The enemy were on the opposite side of Botton's Bridge that morning and the order to General Wayne was to pursue to Williamsburg, pressing his march to the British rear. Steuben was ordered to advance six or seven miles that night and proceed on the following morning to Savage's, continuing upon the road to Williamsburg until a junction of the whole force was made. The advance guard under Colonel Butler met Simcoe at Spencer's Ordinary on the 26th June and attacked and Simcoe retreated until reinforced by Lord Chewton. Cornwallis' troops commenced arriving at Williamsburg on 20th June and were all there on 25th.

On 28th June Lafayette took position at Tyree's plantation to the northwest of Williamsburg. Lafayette's force on 3d July was as follows:

Campbell's brigade, ...	780	militia
Wayne's brigade, ...	750	regulars
Muhlenberg's brigade, ...	800	regulars
Stevens' brigade, ...	650	militia
Lawson's brigade, ...	750	militia
Febeger's regiment, ...	425	regulars
	4,155	

(To be Continued.)

SELECTIONS FROM THE DOOLITTLE CORRESPONDENCE.

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

[Senator Doolittle, born 1815, died 1897, was in the United States Senate 1857-1869. In the following selections, headings and bracketed matter are editorial insertions.]

SENATOR DOOLITTLE'S PEN PICTURE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

[This pen portrait of President Lincoln will be interesting, although probably conveying nothing new to those who knew Lincoln. The original letter is evidently a rough draft of one sent to Mr. Fell, for there are many erasures and interlineations, all made in the same handwriting, Mr. Doolittle's. The document itself is very yellow, caused, presumably, by the peculiar ink used and by the age of the letter itself.]

CHICAGO, *Feb. 22, 1873*

JESSE W. FELL, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR:—I accept with pleasure your autobiography of Lincoln.

The engraving gives as true an expression of his features, while in repose, as any I have ever seen. No engraving could do justice to them when animated in conversation.

The *fac simile* of his handwriting is perfect; while the style and contents of his letter show that same vividness of recollection and clearness of thought which placed him among the great men of our day. They reveal, also, that simplicity, conciseness, and quaintness of statement, mingled with a playful good humor, which, in private conversation, charmed all who heard him, but did not conceal from those who knew him well, that deep undertone of sadness which touched, and, often, ruled his inner life.

To me, and I doubt not to thousands, your work speaks

a volume. How would we prize it if we could have with it such an autobiography of him whose birthday anniversary occurs to-day?

With many thanks for your kindness, I remain,

Truly yours,

J. R. DOOLITTLE.

MAXIMILIAN IN MEXICO.

[The author of the subjoined letter was the late Minister from Mexico to the United States, dying in Washington in the spring of 1905.]

Confidential.

WASHINGTON, *September 9th, 1862.*

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE,
U. S. Senator,
Racine, Wiss.

DEAR SIR:

Your esteemed letter of the 4th instant with its enclosures, has been received. I will forward to Mr. Ainza the enclosed papers.

I am very glad to hear that your faith in the ultimate result of the present gigantic struggle, remains unshaken. When I consider all that is at stake: liberty, equality, self-government, progress and civilization, I cannot help trembling for an issue of (on) which so much will depend the future destinies of mankind. I must confess (to) you that the present management of affairs is not in my opinion, the best calculated to promote a favorable result. You will, I fear, have yet to lament further disasters until the people of the North fully aware of the proportions of the crisis make a mighty effort to overcome all obstacles and to succeed.

I feel very much obliged to you for your kind wishes. towards my unfortunate and dear country. You may be sure that we will resist to the last the invaders, though it

seems that we are going to be abandon (ed) to our fate by the rest of the world, even by the sister republics of this continent which are now at peace. I was in hopes that Garibaldi would give Napoleon in Italy trouble enough to diverge his attention from Mexico and to make him seek for peace, but unfortunate(ly) this morning's new(s) from Europe is that the Italian hero was defeated, wounded and capture(d) by the French.

Hoping to have the pleasure of hearing again soon from you, I remain, sir, very respectfully your most ob. ser.

M. Romero.

Chattel Theory Satirized.

[The year this letter was written does not appear, but it was in the post bellum days, probably in 1866 or 1867. At the top of the letter and in the same handwriting as the rest of it are these words: "A Copy for Hon. Mr. Doolittle Senator in Congress." The document was found among the late Judge James R. Doolittle's private papers. He was, at the time mentioned, a United States Senator from Wisconsin. Nothing is known of the author.]

Hartford, *Feb. 13.*

Hon. Mr. Sumner:

My brother Harry keeps calling me a chattel, and says he will call me a two-fifther, if I do not mind him. I am not a chattel I tell him, but he says you and Mr. Dixon are going to make all the women in the United States chattels.

Ma-ma says I cannot understand it, but that chattels mean the two-fifths of the slaves who were never counted; and that you are trying to amend the Constitution so that women shall not be counted in it any longer, and so we shall be like chattels. Now Mr. Sumner if you do make us like chattels, I will be your worst enemy as long as I live.

Aunt Hetty, who has always lived with us, says it is because you are an old bachelor, but Mr. Dixon is not an old bachelor, I like old bachelors, uncle Harry is one, he used to have ever so many slaves, but he is as good as he can be,

and he says it is because you are afraid the south will beat yet, but I tell him that cannot be, now that they have all surrendered. Mrs. C., who has been to Washington, and *knows a great deal,* was here yesterday working for the freedmen, and said it was very poor pay for all the ladies had done for the war. She said she always liked you till you proposed last spring that women should not be counted in the Constitution any longer. She said it made her blood boil when she first read your amendment, for she saw that in future years, it might be the means of turning all the poor girls out of the factories, so as to fill up with men who counted, and boys who would count when old enough, for that each State would try to count as many as it could, so as to have as many representatives in Congress as it could. And she said that a few more such laws would make poor women and girls like the heathen women in Asia, who have to work all day for a cent, because man in ancient times made laws against them. Now, if you do not wish me to be your greatest enemy you will not injure poor women and girls as the old heathen did, but let them count just as they always have ever since Gen. Washington. How I wish he was living, for pa-pa says he would not let you put such an indignity and disparagement upon all the households of the country. Pa-pa is a clergyman, and says I must not hate anyone but forgive my enemies, but you will be my enemy first, if you do not let me count and so it will belong to you to forgive first. And if you will, and will let women count, as we always have been counted, I will be your

friend forever,
HATTIE ACMEATH.

P. S.—I am going to send this to all the papers pa-pa takes, and he takes ever so many, besides, uncle Harry takes the southern papers—and I know one who will publish it, for he praised my composition when he was here, and said he would print anything I would send him. H. Acmeath.

REVIEWS.

RECOLLECTIONS AND LETTERS OF GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE. By His Son Captain Robert E. Lee. Illustrated. Octavo. Cloth, pp. XII+461. Price $2.50. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1904.

The volume under review consists principally of letters written by General Lee to members of his family. These letters cover the period from the Mexican War to his death in 1870, and with the connecting narrative supplied by Captain Lee give an intimate account of the great leader's life during the War and the Reconstruction. Lee carried on an immense correspondence, especially after the close of the war, with the members of his family, friends, servants and strangers. He answered every letter received. The letters to his wife, sons and daughters contain news of the family, of the cats, dogs and horses, and are often bright and amusing even when the writer was in the midst of gravest troubles. The family life portrayed was beautiful. Lee had pet-names for all his children and was interested in all their affairs. We are glad to know that he went to sleep in church when the sermon was long, and that he liked to have the bottoms of his feet tickled by his small sons. He advised one young daughter "not to believe what the young men tell you," and was in the habit of seeing that his daughters' callers left at ten o'clock. To one daughter he wrote: "Preserve your simple tastes and manners and you will enjoy more pleasure. Plainness and simplicity of dress, early hours, and rational amusements, I wish you to practice." He was interested in everyone's love affairs and constantly urged his sons to marry: "Get a sweet wife. Let her bring a cow and a churn."

About politics and military affairs, Lee wrote but little.

He opposed secession though he believed in the abstract right, and was offered the command of the Federal army. There are no words of blame for any one for military blunders. There is nothing to be found which justifies the assertion now commonly made that he was desirous of submission months before Appomattox.

Lee favored Johnson's plan of Reconstruction and advised the Southern people to submit and make the best of affairs. His frank statements, truth and good manners, when badgered by the Reconstruction Committee, are in striking contrast with the conduct of his inquisitors. He did not advise his people to accept the Reconstruction forced upon them by Congress. It was too bad, he thought, to last—"The dominant party cannot reign forever, and truth and justice will at last prevail." Until his death he was disfranchised, though every negro man in Virginia could vote. He disliked the institution of slavery but predicted that free negro labor would be worthless.

The letters show that the General was deeply religious and his constant prayer was "May God preserve you all and bring peace to our distracted country."

After the surrender he decided that he wanted to live on a farm, and began "looking for some little quiet home in the woods, where I can procure shelter and my daily bread." His letters to his farmer sons are filled with advice about fertilizers and crops.

When offered a home in England, Lee wrote: "I cannot desert my native state in the hour of her adversity. I must abide her fortunes and share her fate." Declining all favorable offers of employment he chose to devote the remainder of his life to teaching the young men of the South, and in the quiet halls of Washington College he ended his life.

American history has no finer figure than that of Lee, and

these letters will serve to make known to strangers what manner of man he was whom "everyone and everything loved."

W. L. Fleming.

West Virginia University.

The Immortal Six Hundred. A Story of Cruelty to Confederate Prisoners of War. By Major J. Ogden Murray, One of the Six Hundred. Winchester, Va.: The Eddy Press Corporation, 1905.

This is a neatly bound, well printed and illustrated book of 274 pages which tells the story of the six hundred Confederate officers, prisoners of war, who were confined in the stockade on Morris Island, South Carolina, under fire of their own guns which were shelling that Island, and who were subsequently sent to Fort Pulaski, Geo., and Hilton Head, S. C., by order of Secretary Stanton, and served with rations which were unfit for man or beast.

These officers were placed under fire by order of Major Gen. J. G. Foster, U. S. A., commanding the Department of South Carolina, June 16, 1864. All of the official correspondence between Gen. Foster and the Confederate authorities is given, and full accounts of the treatment of the officers at all of the various prisons in which they were confined. The author has given a very graphic and complete description of the sufferings of the prisoners, and gives in the appendix the names, rank and commands of all of them, with a list of those who took the oath of allegiance to the U. S. Government.

This book will be a valuable addition to the history of the war between the states.

Disunion Sentiment in Congress in 1794. A Confidential Memorandum Hitherto Unpublished. Written by John Taylor, of Caroline, Senator from Virginia, for James

Madison. Edited, with an introduction, by Gaillard Hunt. W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., Washington.

This is a very curious historical document. It contains the substance of a prolonged conversation had in one of the Senate committee rooms in May, 1794, between Rufus King on the one hand and John Taylor, of Caroline, Oliver Ellsworth being present most of the time as a sympathizer with Senator King's views. The manifest object of the New Yorker and the New Englander was to impress the Virginian with the imminence of a break-up in the Union. Senator Taylor wrote down an account of the conference and sent it to Madison. The latter seems to have regarded it as improper to be preserved as against King and Ellsworth, for he separated it from his "papers" and it has never before been printed. In fact he suggests in a memorandum made on the document itself that the conversation was *"in terrorem."* Whether this was so or not, the conversation as here recorded has a striking historical significance. It proves conclusively that in five years after the government went into operation, its dissolution was discussed on the ground of expediency, and expediency alone, and by Northern Senators. With the lapse of time, present day Federalists are more willing to admit than formerly they were, that the Hartford Convention cloaked a serious secession movement. Senator Lodge candidly avows that if it had not been commonly accepted that a state had a right to secede, the Constitution could never have been ratified.

The publishers have rendered good service to the cause of history in putting forth this scholarly brochure. It will temper feelings on both sides of our most commanding controversy to learn at what an early date and in what quarters the right of a state to withdraw from the Union was first mooted.

There is a competent introduction, a fac simile of the memorandum and a printed copy of this.

THOMAS H. CLARK.

THE EARLY PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA. By John Porter Hollis, Ph. D. Pp. 129, xii. 9 5/8x6 1/16 inches. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1905. (Series xxiii, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.)

Considering the haziness in the universities as to what is a doctor's thesis in history and what is the proper subject for it, Mr. Hollis may be excused for tackling such a problem as this. In fact he deserves our warmest appreciation for modestly confining himself to a limited period. He restricts himself to "a simple narration of the facts" comprising a brief account of the effects of the war, a description of the chief political steps down to 1868, with a short sketch of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina. He has industriously gathered a vast mass of statements from what may be called original sources. He has used official documents liberally, but the larger part of his reliance is upon those very untrustworthy witnesses, newspapers. Such material is of untold value for "local color," for showing the spirit of the times, but for giving the facts they need to be used with the greatest caution. One instance, the killing of a soldier at Newberry (p. 46), illustrates the danger of trusting daily periodicals. There is another story of this event, quite different in some important respects, that appeared perhaps in the Charleston journal within the past few years.

Besides we are too near those occurrences for all the evidence to be put before the public. Letters, diaries, reminiscences, are still to be dressed up by the printer before we can get a survey of that era. If a thesis means completeness then such a topic should never have been chosen, but if the aim is to get a perfectly dispassionate and dry treatment of the great volume of literature already in existence, then Mr. Hollis has done a first class piece of work.

But it is doubtful whether the truth is to be shown except through power of imagination to create an impression. For

this style is demanded in the writer, and that unfortunately Mr. Hollis does not have. In that respect he is like all of his brethren who take the Ph. D. degree in history. Here was a fine field for a man with a glowing pen, and it is a solemn query whether any other should make the venture. The millions of facts can never reproduce the tension and anguish of those years, and such formal summaries as this may be a hindrance instead of a help whenever the right man to paint those scenes comes along. There should be some delimitation to the so-called scientific historian.

In the *N. C. Booklet* for March Rev. A. J. McKelway, writing of the Scotch-Irish settlements in North Carolina, makes a remarkable statement on the honesty of that people. He says that in Mecklenburg County, N. C., for one hundred years of recorded history not a native white was indicted for larceny. The *Booklet* for April prints articles on the Guilford Court House battle, by Maj. Joseph M. Morehead and on the German Palatines by Hon. Oliver H. Allen. With the opening of volume five the form of the *Booklet* will be changed from a monthly to a quarterly, July, Oct., Jan. and April. The contents for 1905-6 will be:

Genesis of Wake County, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood; St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C., and its Associations, by Richard Dillard, M. D.; North Carolina Signers of the National Declaration of Independence, Part II., William Hooper, by Mrs. Spier Whitaker; North Carolina at Kings' Mountain; Social Conditions in Eastern Carolina in Colonial Times, by Hon. J. Bryan Grimes; North Carolina's Poets, by Rev. Hight C. Moore; The History of the Capitol, by Col. Charles Earl Johnson; Cornelius Harnett, by R. D. W. Connor; Edward Moseley, by Prof. D. H. Hill; Governor Jesse Franklin, by S. Porter Graves; Governor Thomas Pollock, by Mrs. John W. Hinsdale; Battle of Cowan's Ford, by Major William A. Graham.

THE GEORGIAN. A Novel. By Will N. Harben, author of Abner Daniel, etc. New York and London: Harper Brothers, 1904. 12 mo; pp. 338. $1.50.

Anyone who cares for tales of "homespun" life will get a great deal of pleasure out of The Georgian. The interest lies, not so much in the plot, which is conventional, as in isolated situations and in the characters. They are, as a rule, consistently worked out. This is particularly true of Abner Daniel, the hero. He has wit, good judgment, and common sense; he is courteous to all, and generous to a degree beyond most men. He is now and then inclined to pose, and the reader occasionally tires of him—as his acquaintances doubtless did when they saw too much of him at one time. But his unselfish devotion to the young Vaughan when the latter most needed friends, and his determined efforts to save from the gallows old Si Warren, lead the reader to Judge Abner's heart rather than his head. The other characters are here and there brought into strong relief, a single stroke telling all that need be known of them. The strength of the book, however, lies in its "local color," its "atmosphere." It is a representative picture of country life among the North Georgia mountains and hills. It is wholesome in tone, and, taken altogether, worthy of a permanent place among local studies of American life.

GEORGE S. WILLS.

Very prolific of bibliographies was the Library of Congress during 1904, under the chief of that division, Mr. A. P. C. Griffin. Something like a dozen or more came from the Government Printing Office bearing on questions of the day such as immigration, election of Senators, proportional representation, foreign budgets, railroads, banks, tariff, diplomacy, Germans in this country, Asiatic nations, impeachment, etc., most of them furnished very wisely with introductory guide for readers. The manuscript branch of the

same library was also very active in preparing several calendars of original written sources such as the Vernon-wager, and Monroe papers. The library also printed very handy little leaflets for distribution at the St. Louis exhibition describing its work.

The report of the Librarian for 1903 contains a list of manuscript accessions for the year previous, one of the most important items being 125 manuscripts bearing upon the early settlements of Jamestown. The larger portion of this volume of some six hundred pages is given up to a list of recent purchases of books running up to nearly three thousand titles.

That solid series of the official writings of the Governors of Iowa, under the editorial hand of Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, has finished Vol. 6, which covers two executives, William Larrabee and Horace Boies (octavo, pp. X, 429, 1904, cloth). This dignified task of the State Historical Society will soon be ended as this installment comes near to the present, down to 1890.

Dr. Stephen Beauregard Weeks announces he has now in course of preparation the copy for a definitive edition of his Bibliography of North Carolina. A preliminary edition of this work, extending to the letter F, was printed in 1892, a second and enlarged edition appeared under the title, Bibliography of the Historical Literature of North Carolina, as No. 48 of the series of Bibliographical Contributions published by Harvard University (Cambridge, 1895). With a few exceptions that work did not list sources and did not include other phases of the State's literature. The present work will undertake for all phases of the literary life of North Carolina what was done there for the field of digested history.

It will include every known book, pamphlet or magazine

article of importance dealing with the State or any part of the same, or with the career of North Carolinians; all literary work of North Carolinians regardless of its character and a list of the monthly and other periodical magazines published in the State.

It will not include the work of such North Carolinians as have removed from the State and are no longer to be regarded as its citizens or works that treat of them and their lives except so far as the latter bear on the history of the State itself or its families. It will not include encyclopaedia or geography or general history articles on the history and biography of the State unless for special reasons or where these are to a considerable extent the work of North Carolina writers. It will not include newspapers or any newspaper articles except for particular reasons.

Each title will be followed, so far as its importance seems to demand, by notes, historical, biographical, illuminative and critical. These will seek to show the field covered by the work in question where this is not evident from the title and to estimate its value, both for the general reader and for the scholar. The whole will be arranged alphabetically under authors, with cross references from title and subject entries. There will be a list of North Carolina portraits and a list of all books containing North Carolina maps. The whole will be included under a single alphabet.

It is hoped to give titles and collations with such accuracy and fulness of detail as to preclude a re-examination of the same ground. To attain this it is desirable that the compiler see whenever possible each book or pamphlet to be included in his list. When this is impossible he must depend for assistance on authors and on the owners of rare books for descriptions and collations. Each title will be given in full with uprights and with due regard to the use of capitals on the title page. In the transcript of the title page capitals will be used only: 1. At the beginning of the title itself; 2.

When a capital appears on the title page and is followed either by small letters or by small caps.; 3. For proper names and proper adjectives. The sizes of the books will be denoted by the rules of the A. L. A.:— 4 in. tall, means 48°; 4-5 in., 32°; 5-6 in., 24°; 6-7 in., 16° or S; 7-8 in., 12° or D; 8-10 in., 8° or O; 10-12 in., 4° or Q; 12 in. and over, F°. In collating the following signs will be used: t. or title, means title page one leaf, with verso blank or with copyright notice; 1 l., means one leaf printed on one side only, verso blank; [2] means two unnumbered pages, that is, one leaf printed on both sides and both pages unnumbered; [1] means an unnumbered page and always the verso of a numbered page; [ ] means words or figures not on title page or in text, also page or pages not numbered by printer as [1] and [2] above.

The following will serve as a sample of the method of reporting title pages and collation to be used:—

Alexander, J. B.

The history / Of Mecklenburg County / From 1740 to 1900. / by / J. B. Alexander, M. D., / Charlotte, N. C. / 1902. / Charlotte, N. C.: / Observer Printing House, / 1902. /

Collation: O. (9½x6½) pp. title, copyr. on verso; index to ills., [i]; index, [ii]—iv; preface, 3-7; text, 9-431; 24 ports.; 1 map; 1 ill. (port. of A. W. Miller not inserted at p. 258 as stated in index).

This collation will be elaborated as the importance of the individual volume may demand.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.—Judging from the very readable report of the last meeting of the American Historical Association that must have been an amusing conference on this subject for one who observes advanced history teaching in this country. Here were a number of men from the various universities discussing the doctorate in their field, but nowhere appears in the account any attempt to define either what a thesis is or what it should be. These products range from ambitious volumes based on a toilsome study of manuscript sources down to short summaries of a few printed works. Furthermore no one of those offering their views seemed to be aware that there was a far deeper consideration of the whole matter than they were giving, namely whether these labored treatises are worth anything either to the author or to others, in the way of preparing for a useful life. It is well known that few ever read these dry dissertations. Is it settled that the great generalizers depend much upon them? Can history be written in a lively way from secondary sources? Then if these efforts of prentice hands never reach the masses and are never used by the great writers, there can be only one other reason for producing them, namely the training the labor gives. If this were valuable its results would be of great importance indirectly, but unfortunately there is no trace of such beneficent influence upon public affairs or politics, or education either locally or nationally, in this country. True, we have been emphasizing historical study for only a score of years and the good may make itself yet felt in the future. Thus far no teacher of this subject is known to affect the civic life around him. It should broaden notions and widen sympathies, but the most marked examples of bitter prejudices on

the sectional issue in our life are seen to-day among history teachers on both sides of the line. In science it might be said that the corresponding attempts are almost without weight, but all of science is connected with practical matters and contributes very often to the improvement of material conditions. No one will claim that history has any such useful bearing. In fact there seems no place for it in the philosophy of education except for the development of character and consequently the regulation of conduct. It cannot contribute to our creature comforts except in a roundabout way by aiding our decisions on questions of governmental policy. It may keep us from making a political mistake, it may save us from repeating an experiment, it may warn us against a duplication of experience. But it can never do any of these things unless it makes a broad appeal to the whole body of people. It can never do this unless composed in a style attractive either in the topics selected or in the presentation of ideas. It must reach the high level bordering on the literary or even entering that domain. Such a command of expression is a natural gift, not a pedagogical product. The English teachers who can write themselves have about concluded that literature cannot be taught. If history touches that kingdom in its influence for good how long before we shall see it cannot be taught? So far the universities have only succeeded in fashioning students to write dull books useless to themselves and useless to others, a pitiful output for so much energy and endowment. Of the number of men who have gone through this mill only one comes to mind as possessing an attractive style. He never went through what is sometimes proudly called the "scientific" process. His facility of language is in spite of, not because of his historical university course.

Two State Departments of History.—The Legislature of West Virginia at its last session provided for a regular

bureau of history and archives with an appropriation for carrying on the work. At the same time the aid previously given yearly to the State Historical Society was withdrawn and that institution in consequence transferred all of its library and museum and other property to this State office. Hence the historical magazine, now half way through its fifth volume, will cease to appear under its former management, but whether it will be continued in its new hands seems an undecided matter at present. In the issue for April is given a table of contents of the successive numbers from the first one, January, 1901, down to the present, but there seems no hope that any index will be prepared. There was none to any of the volumes and we thus have a body of material of some eight hundred or more pages practically without any guide for the searcher. Throughout it has been largely genealogical, the historical articles not usually being scientific in matter.

South Carolina also provided for a similar department. The management give promise of great usefulness in the initial step as they chose Mr. A. S. Salley, secretary. Mr. Salley has for several years been a most efficient secretary of the State Historical Society, in Charleston, bringing up the membership to nearly 300, and publishing a quarterly magazine of considerable value. It is not settled whether that will be continued beyond the current volume.

A Washington Relic.—It is said that Dr. James H. Carlisle, Spartanburg, S. C., has a Mexican silver half dollar with which Washington paid for his breakfast when he passed through that part of South Carolina in 1791, as he was returning home from his southern tour. He took breakfast with some one in Lancaster County and insisted on paying for what he had received just as any ordinary traveler would. The coin has been passed down to the descendants until it is now in the hands of Dr. Carlisle, who expects

to leave it to Wofford College. The local correspondent believes this piece is of extraordinary sentimental value as he thinks that no other money can be traced back to Washington. (*Sunday News,* Charleston, S. C., April 30, 1905.)

Sidney Lanier.—A beautiful sympathetic estimate of this gifted man whom disease cut off in his prime, lately appeared from the pen of Mr. D. C. Gilman, who was President of the Johns Hopkins University when Lanier was struggling into fame and at the same time gradually sinking towards the grave. Tender and pathetic is Mr. Gilman's tribute to this poet with whom he came into university relations. How sad and tragical his characterization appears, when we know how incurable Lanier's ailment was: "like a true knight errant, never disheartened by difficulty, never despondent in the face of danger, always brave, full of resources, confident of ultimate triumph." (*South Atlantic Quarterly,* April, 1905.)

Genius and Greatness.—A mere matter of accident some philosophers say, among them Mr. Thomas B. Reed, or at least he was so reported. A striking illustration of how much chance plays in the career of mighty figures is that incident in the life of Gen. U. S. Grant, lately retold by one of the participants, of his application for a small office in Missouri in 1859. He did not get the place, and he himself was frank enough to say that if he had been successful he would never have been heard of. But failing in his application he volunteered at the beginning of the Civil War and hence followed his wonderful career. (Wm. Taussig, Vol. 2, No. 3, *Misouri Historical Society Collections.*)

The Desert Along the Mississippi.—So declared an observer in 1770 when he was speaking of the route to the sea from Pittsburg. The great disadvantage of that path he

thought was "the great desert through which the small vessels must pass, affords an asylum for robbers." (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* April, 1905, pp. 360.)

John C. Calhoun's Land.—Through the kindness of Miss Eliza Calhoun, Washington, D. C., we are enabled to print below papers for a tract of land that afterwards came into the possession of John C. Calhoun, so it is believed:

So. Carolina:

Pursuant to an order of Council to me directed and dated this day —I do hereby certify for Edwd Dickie a Plantation or tract of Land containing Four hundd Acres Situate as is supposed in Granville County (Survey March 17th, 1763, for sd Edwd. Dickie) on a branch of Savanna River called the N. W. fork of Long Cane Creek Boundg N. W. on Wm. Calhoun's Land N. E. part on Hugh Calhoun's and part vact. S. E. part on vact. part on Arthur Pattons S. W. part on vact. and part on Samuel Clerks and hath such shape form and marks as the above platt represents—Given under my hand this 1st of July, 1766.

Patk Calhoune.

John [Illegible] D. S.

[On back of this land paper is the following.]

A Memorial hereof Entered in the Aud's Office
In Book H No. 8. Page (86) this 11th Septemb. 1766.
J. E. Hambton (?) Ds. Aud.
Edward Dickies Grant
for 400 Acres in Granville County
Secretarys Office [illegible]
Book A, A, A, Page 62 [illegible]
[illegible] Mill Seats. Thos. [illegible]

PUBLICATIONS

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LAFAYETTE'S CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA, APRIL--OCTOBER, 1781.

BY GENERAL MARCUS J. WRIGHT.

(Concluded below.)

Cornwallis received intelligence from Sir Henry Clinton that he feared General Washington was planning an attack on New York in conjunction with the French allied forces and that there were only 11,000 British troops left in New York after the reinforcements sent to Cornwallis and he considered himself in imminent danger. He ordered Cornwallis to take position in some healthy place, Williamsburg or Yorktown, and entrench, and to send to New York all the troops which could be spared. He moved out from Williamsburg on 4th July and encamped in front of the ford leading to James Island, sending across the river the Queen's Rangers which arrived at Cobham that night, and the 5th he sent over his baggage intending to cross the main body of his army on the 7th.

When information of Cornwallis' movement reached Lafayette, who now occupied Williamsburg, he decided to move towards the enemy and proceeded to Chickahominy church, eight miles from Jamestown, and then advanced to Byrd's

Tavern on the 5th July, sending a detachment to take post at Norrell's Mill, near Chickahominy Church, and very near the British camp. He attacked what he supposed to be the rear guard of the British army on the 6th July. (A courier had been sent him from Williamsburg by a woman warning him against the attack, but it did not reach him in time.) This is known as the battle of Green Spring from the name of a plantation called Green Spring Farm, between Williamsburg and Jamestown, about a mile from the north bank of James river, and opposite the north end of Jamestown Island.

The ground at Green Spring is low and passable only by a narrow causeway which made it difficult to manoeuvre troops. Cornwallis was advised of Lafayette's intention to attack his rear and took measures accordingly. He placed the Queen's Rangers in his front, having his other troops out of sight. Tarleton sent false information into Lafayette's camp by a negro to the effect that all of the British army except the Queen's Rangers had crossed over. The British position was strong and well chosen. Lafayette's advance was of General Wayne's command and composed of Major MacPherson's cavalry, two small corps of volunteer dragoons under Colonel Mercer and Captain Hill, one hundred and fifty riflemen and Colonel Stewart's detachment of the Pennsylvania line with three pieces of artillery.

General Wayne advanced with these troops as far as Green Spring. He there came upon the British outposts whom he attacked early in the afternoon and drove them back over one of the causeways upon his right, wounding the commander, Colonel Gier. The outposts thus attacked consisted of light bodies of cavalry who being forced back, the pickets were discovered in the rear. These latter were attacked by General Wayne about 4 in the afternoon. Cornwallis allowed the pickets to be defeated and driven back with the loss of three officers lest he should disclose his force, his

intention being to draw Wayne in front of his whole force. About this time Lafayette stationed the light infantry battalions of Colonels Vose and Barber about a half a mile in rear of Wayne's position. This saved Wayne's army from defeat.

Lafayette reconnoitered and found the British forces posted on an open piece of ground near Ambler's plantation under protection of their ships' batteries awaiting the attack. Lafayette hurried to inform General Wayne of the situation but that officer had begun the attack under the impression that he had only the rear guard of Cornwallis' army in his front.

The British had purposely left a cannon in an exposed position and General Wayne ordered Captain Galvan, a French officer of the Continental army, to capture it with a small detachment. This movement of Galvan's was the signal for the British advance. Colonel Tarleton says "upon the first cannon shot from the enemy the British army formed and advanced when the dragoons fell back through intervals made for them by the infantry." Major Willis came to Wayne's assistance with a small force when the British 76th, 43rd and 80th regiments advanced with such vigor that Willis was forced back and the American right wing was being rapidly turned. Wayne's position was growing desperate when reinforced by Lieutenant Colonel Harmor and Major Edwards with two detachments of the 2nd and 3rd battalions of Pennsylvanians under Colonel Hampton, he determined upon a brilliant exploit which required all the daring of his nature to conceive, this was as he quaintly puts it, "among a choice of difficulties, to advance and charge them." Almost surrounded he charged directly into the British ranks and thus extricated himself and saved the day. This unexpected assault checked for a time the British advance and diverted them from the flanking movement which had already begun. It gave him time to collect himself and

obey Lafayette's order to fall back on Vose's and Barber's light infantry situated some half mile in his rear. The horses attached to two of his cannon being shot he could not bring the guns off.

Wayne retired in good order and the British remained inactive on the field, making no attempt to follow. They soon returned to their camp and Cornwallis crossed his army to James Island, and thence to Cobham upon the south side of James river during the night.

Lafayette in the meantime concentrated his army at Norrell's Mill. (Tarleton says if Cornwallis had attacked Lafayette at Norrell's Mill that night he would have destroyed the American army.)

The casualties in General Wayne's command, Green Springs, Va., July 6th, 1781, were: Total 5 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 4 lieutenants, 7 sergeants, 82 rank and file wounded; 4 sergeants, 24 rank and file killed and 12 rank and file missing. Officers wounded: Captains Van Lear, Division Inspector, Doyle, Finnie, Montgomery, Starke, McClellan; Lieutenants Piercy, Felman, White, Herbert. Prisoners, Captain Le Crossley, of artillery.

Lafayette in his order praises General Wayne, Major Galvan, the Pennsylvania troops, Major Willis, Colonel Mercer and Captain Savage of the artillery.

From Cobham, on the 9th July, Cornwallis sent Tarleton with his cavalry legion and a detachment of mounted infantry into Amelia county to Prince Edward Court House, thence into Bedford county to destroy stores and Cornwallis withdrew his remaining force to Portsmouth.

Lafayette now occupied Williamsburg, placing his army at Malvern Hill for rest, the spot where a most bloody battle was fought in our late internecine war.

On the 15th August Washington dispatched Lafayette to prevent Cornwallis from retreating towards the Carolinas and to halt Wayne's troops.

Cornwallis embarked his troops at Portsmouth to sail to New York under orders of Sir Henry Clinton, but the order was countermanded. Clinton greatly disapproved of Cornwallis leaving Williamsburg.

On the 1st August Cornwallis took possession of Yorktown and Gloucester. Portsmouth was evacuated and the whole force concentrated at Yorktown and Gloucester, 28th August, 1781. Lafayette remained at Malvern Hill with two battalions of light infantry and the Virginia militia up to the end of July. General Wayne with the Pennsylvania line and the regular Virginia troops remained at Goode's Bridge prepared to move southward to reinforce General Green. General Muhlenberg was between Lafayette and Suffolk with one battalion of light infantry, some riflemen and a small detachment of cavalry watching the enemy at Portsmouth in case they moved for Carolina.

General Weedon was at Fredericksburg ready to call out the Virginia militia if a fleet should appear in Chesapeake bay. General Gregory was on the other side of the Dismal Swamp with orders to collect the militia and to mount cannon at the passes and secure boats that might serve the enemy in marching to North Carolina. This was the situation July 30, 1781. (Lord Cornwallis' servant, a man named Cowden, was a spy for General Lafayette and kept him informed of movements.)

Believing from information received from Cowden that Cornwallis intended to embark his army and sail up Chesapeake bay, Lafayette on 1st August broke camp at Malvern Hill with the purpose of uniting his forces and pushing towards Fredericksburg. He reached Richmond on 3rd August and learned that Cornwallis was at Yorktown. Lafayette feared Cornwallis intended to seize Baltimore. On 3rd August he sent orders to General Wayne to cross the James by the nearest route in order to form a junction with him at Johnstone's Mill, a few miles below New Castle, on the Pa-

munkey, announcing his own intention of moving from Richmond to New Castle and requesting Wayne to send his cavalry ahead to join the army. From New Castle, on 4th August, he wrote General Wayne that he was uncertain of the intentions of Cornwallis. He instructed Wayne to take position between Batton's Bridge and Westover while he himself would halt near the Pamunkey river. This would give him the advantage of being within twenty miles of Wayne and permit a concerted action with him in case of necessity by uniting to cross either the James at Westover to go south, or the Pamunkey if he thought best to move northward.

Lafayette left New Castle on 10th August, moved down the river by way of Ruffin's Ferry, and New Kent Mountain, and on the 13th August he took position between the forks of the York river in the vicinity of West Point and established a reconnoitering post. The British continued to fortify at York and Gloucester, sending frequent raiding parties of cavalry out.

While here he learned of the plan of the combined forces of the American and French armies to meet the British in Virginia. He ordered General Wayne, who was on the north side of the James, to take position near Westover in order to cut off the British if they should attempt a movement south. (This was on the 22nd.)

On receipt of a letter from General Washington from Dobb's Ferry announcing the intended combined movement, Lafayette sent Colonel de Girnat, the French officer who had formerly served on his staff, but now commanding one of the Continental battalions, to Cape Henry with dispatches to the Comte de Grasse to be delivered to the Admiral immediately upon the arrival of the West India Fleet. He gave a detailed statement of his strength and position and begged him to sail up Chesapeake bay and drive the enemy's frigates into the James river and to blockade York river.

On the 30th August the Comte de Grasse arrived with his fleet of twenty-eight ships of the line in the Chesapeake bay.

General Washington broke camp at Dobb's Ferry on the 19th August and put his whole army in motion for the head of the Elk. He crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry on the 21st and by the 25th both the American and French armies had crossed. They proceeded through New Jersey in the direction of Springfield and Chatham, skirting the Hudson and using every device to keep the march a secret. Sir Henry Clinton, expecting a movement on New York, at first regarded this movement as a ruse on the part of General Washington. The allied armies arrived at Chatham on the 28th August.

At Trenton the Delaware river was forded and the army arrived at Philadelphia on the 5th September. From Philadelphia (the armies not being able to get transportation by water) proceeded by land to the head of the Elk except the Second New York regiment which had transportable boats in which they sailed down to Christian Bridge. The American army consisted of light infantry under Colonel Scammell with two light companies from New York and two from Connecticut, the remainder of the New Jersey line, two regiments of New York Continentals, Hazen's regiment and the regiment of Rhode Island, together with Lamb's regiment of artillery with cannon and necessary ordance for the field and siege. The French artillery, well equipped, 4,000 strong, were under command of General, the Comte de Rochambeau.

The Count Admiral de Grasse received Lafayette's dispatches and landed the troops of the Marquis de Saint-Simon. These were taken up the James river under the protection of three frigates as far as Jamestown where they were landed the 2nd September. Lafayette now began to throw his troops forward (4th September) and on the night of the 7th had taken a strong position at Williamsburg with the combined army.

Lord Cornwallis reconnoitered Lafayette's position at Wil-

liamsburg with a heavy force, but made no demonstration of attack, but withdrew to Yorktown and continued fortifying that place.

General St. Simon and other French officers were impatient for attack but Lafayette restrained them, telling them they must wait the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau.

General Washington left Head of Elk in advance of his troops and proceeded in company with the Comte de Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Chastelleux by way of Baltimore to visit Mount Vernon which he had not seen since the beginning of the war. He reached there the 9th September and remained until the 12th, when he proceeded to Williamsburg, arriving there on the 14th September. A royal salute was fired in honor of Washington and Rochambeau, who encamped with Lafayette and General St. Simon.

Washington marched from Williamsburg 28th September with his whole army and encamped two miles from York, the French having taken the direct road to that town by the Brick House, the Americans having gone by Munford's Bridge.

At noon the heads of columns arrived on their respective grounds, and drove in the British pickets after which they slept on their arms. On the next day, 29th, the American troops were moved to the right and took ground in front of the enemy's position, occupying the east side of Beaver Dam Creek, with a morass in front and in cannon shot of the British lines. The left wing of the American army composed of French troops encamped on the west side of the creek. Early in the morning it was discovered that the British had evacuated all their exterior works and withdrawn to those near the town. The investment was complete except upon the York river above the town from which the enemy could not expect to receive succor.

On the night of the 6th of October the first parallel was opened within six hundred yards of the British lines, from

which the French and American artillery opened fire which continued and increased in intensity until the 10th, when the enemy withdrew their cannons from their embrasures and placed them behind the merlons and scarely fired a shot the whole day. On the night 11th October, the second parallel was opened only three hundred yards from the enemy's works, the advance having been made so cautiously that it was not suspected by the British. Two redoubts on the enemy's left were still held by them.

General Washington determined to assault them, and on the evening of the 14th October, two detachments, one American and one French were ordered for the attack. The French detachment was composed of the grenadiers and chasseurs commanded by Major General the Baron de Vioméuil and was directed to capture the larger of the two redoubts,—the smaller, which stood on the extreme British left was assigned to the Marquis de Lafayette with his light infantry. Lafayette's detachment numbered 400 men from the battalions of Lieutenant Colonel de Girnat, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, Lieutenant Colonel Barber, and Lieutenant Colonel Jno. Laurens. The command of the whole advanced corps was given to Hamilton. At the given signal the detachments marched out. Lafayette's men rushed forward, charging with their bayonets, and were soon in the redoubts and had captured its defenders, Major Campbell being in command, several subordinate officers and 45 soldiers without firing a shot. The French detachment encountered strong opposition. They, however, captured the redoubt.

The Baron de Vioméuil had expressed some doubt at the outset whether Lafayette's American troops would be able to perform the service required. Lafayette though a Frenchman would not tolerate any slight toward America or American soldiers. After Lafayette had with his American troops so easily captured the redoubt assigned

him, seeing the difficulty Vioméuil was having, dispatched an aide-de-camp to announce with his compliments that the American troops were in possession of their redoubt and to say that if M. de Vioméuil required any help the Marquis de Lafayette would have great pleasure in assisting him.

On the night of the 15th October, Cornwallis made an attempt to relieve his position by a sortie which resulted in nothing more than the entrance of the British sallying party into one of the American and one of the French batteries in the 2nd parallel and the hasty spiking of a few guns which were almost immediately after repaired and turned on the enemy's works.

On the 17th Lord Cornwallis sent General Washington a letter proposing cessation of hostilities for 24 hours and the appointment of two officers by each army to meet at Mr. Moore's house to settle the terms of surrender.

This was accepted and Lieutenant Colonel Laurens and Vicomte de Noailles on the American side and Lieutenant Colonel Dundas and Major Ross on the British side were appointed, and on the 19th of October the surrender was made to the Continental forces of France and America.

Cornwallis had asked that the garrisons of York and Gloucester should be prisoners of war, "with the customary honors," that is, flags flying and drums beating. But Lafayette remembering the indignity to which General Lincoln's troops were subjected by the British commander at the surrender of Charleston, insisted that the condition which they had imposed then be exacted now. General Lincoln had been compelled to march out with his colors cased and had been forbidden to play the usual airs. Lafayette demanded in retaliation the British troops should lay down their arms in the same manner and be required to play the usual airs.

The articles of capitulation were signed on the 19th October by Lord Cornwallis and Thomas Symonds on be-

half of the British army and by General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau, and the Count de Barras in his own name and for the allied forces.

Lord Cornwallis plead illness and did not march at the head of his troops, the surrender was made by General O'Hara. It was accepted by Major General Benj. Lincoln, who received General O'Hara's sword and handed it back to him. Visits were exchanged between the officers of the two armies and the greatest courtesy prevailed.

(Concluded.)

THE MAKING OF THE CONFEDERATE CONSTITUTION.

By A. L. Hull, Athens, Ga.

[This study is composed virtually of documentary material, as it is made up almost entirely of selections from two contemporary sources; the letters and notes of Thos. R. R. Cobb.

Mr. Cobb was a native Georgian, born in 1823. He attended school at his home in Athens, Ga., and was graduated from the University of Georgia in 1841 with first honor. He married in 1844 a daughter of Chief Justice Joseph H. Lumpkin of the Supreme Court of Georgia. Mr. Cobb was a profound lawyer and had a large and lucrative practice when the war began. He never held a public office excepting that of Member of the Provisional Congress. Upon the election of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Cobb threw himself into the movement for secession with all the ardor of his nature. He stumped the State, enthusing great audiences with the fire of his eloquence and more than any other man carried Georgia out of the Union.

When war was an assured fact, he organized Cobb's Legion, composed of artillery, infantry and cavalry, numbering a thousand men. He was afterwards promoted to Brigadier General and was killed at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862.

If possible he wrote daily, sometimes twice daily, to his wife when he was at the Convention and at the front. Fortunately his letters have all been preserved. Perfectly fearless and frank, he poured out his feelings with all the freedom of a devoted husband to his wife. With never a thought that the public would ever see a line, he comments, criticises and keenly characterizes the men and efforts about him. If he thought that imposing figures were hollow, that great names were pretences, he thrusts his verbal rapier through the stilted forms. His judgment in most instances turned out to be wonderfully accurate. But through all the tiresome wrangling of committee and convention, through all the clash and clatter of armies, there is nothing so valuable historically for the student in the years to come as his glowing tenderness and yearning for his family and his home. In utter unconsciousness he opens the very inner recesses of his heart. His devotedness discloses nothing ugly, low or mean. In his love he stands a beautiful character, one of the best examples of his type of the men who went out to battle for the right as they saw it. Some day, it is to be trusted this picture will appear in print.

All of the letters made use of below were addressed to his wife. They have been drawn upon before,[1] but for a different purpose. Whatever duplication there may be serves its legitimate aim here.

Brackets [ ], enclosures and summaries by the Editor.—Ed.]

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[1] *So. Hist. Soc. Papers,* Vol. 28, 1900.

Immediately after the secession of the States in January, 1861, delegates were appointed to meet in Montgomery, Alabama, and form a new Confederacy.

Seven States had passed ordinances of secession, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. Other Southern States were impatiently awaiting the day for their conventions, some were wavering and some held out no hope of leaving the Union.

The seceding States met in convention early in February.

One of the delegates from Georgia was Thomas R. R. Cobb who let not a day pass without writing home to his wife, and in these letters pictured the events of each day without reservation as they appeared to him. These letters of Mr. Cobb, daily chronicles of events from his arrival in Montgomery in February, 1861, until the day before his death at Fredericksburg in December, 1862, excepting the few days he was at home, are not only intensely interestingly, but of great historical value. Some extracts will help us to see the Cradle of the Confederacy as it was.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS OF THOS. R. R. COBB.

MONTGOMERY, *Feb. 3, 1861.*

The full delegation from So. Ca. are here. A few of the Mississippi and one of the Florida. We think we shall have a full representation to-morrow. The Commissioners from No. Car. are here and also a Commission from the City of New York consisting of James T. Brady, I Oakes Smith and some one else. The universal feeling seems to be to make Howell* President of the Convention.

As to the Provisional President of the Confederacy the strongest current is for Jeff Davis. Howell and Mr. Toombs are both spoken of and there seems to be a good deal of difficulty in settling down on any person.....

* Hon. Howell Cobb, his brother.

The news from Fort Pickens shows miserable bad management at that point and I fear it will give us more trouble than Fort Sumter.

Feb. 4th, 1861.

The Convention organized to-day. Howell was elected President of the Convention by acclamation. It was very flattering and very gratifying to him. The Delegations from all the seceding States except Texas were present and very full. Nothing of importance was done to-day. The breakers ahead of us are beginning to appear..... I am surprised to find the trouble coming from the quarters whence I least expected it, viz: in South Carolina and Alabama. The former is making technical points on powers and privileges and the latter is very much divided, some of her Delegates being not only re-constructionists, but absolutely Union men. The truth is there is a very bad state of things in this State. The minority are sullen..... and not disposed to yield to the fact of secession. We shall sit with closed doors and enjoin strict secrecy on members as well as officers.....

The Ala. Legislature to-day appropriated $500,000 for the use of this Congress and the Provisional Government. Gov. Moore has treated us very munificently..... The delegation [Ga.] has already the most powerful influence in this body and will undoubtedly control the concern.

Feb. 5th.

We cleared the galleries this morning and went into secret session. The outsiders were very much outraged at the movement especially the women who were out in large numbers.....I am more hopeful of harmony to-day than I was last night. In fact I think we shall go through the ordeal with a bold and united front.....The general impression is that [the session] will be at least three weeks.

Feb. 6th.

We are doing the most important work in "secret session" and by the rules.....a member is expelled for divulging the matter in any manner. It will be made public in a few days.....The prospect for prompt and energetic action is good. There will be no unnecessary delay in our movements.....Ben Hill brought his wife with him and she is very much put out with the closed doors.....

There is but little speculation as to the probable President. Jeff Davis is most prominent. Howell next. Toombs, Stephens, Yancey and even Joe Brown are talked about. Howell *honestly I believe* shrinks from the responsibility.. .....and asks his friends not to urge or use his name.

Feb. 7th.

I assure you there is *no office* that could be created in this Southern Confederacy which I could be induced to accept.

Feb. 8th.

We are hard at work *at last.* I say this with pleasure for I have been amazed at the delays. In fact I told some of the Delegation that I would quit and go home if something was not done.....The news from So. Car. to-day indicates a little more chance for war, but it will be a small matter....

We shall have a Provisional Government in full operation in less than a week. Stephens is *looming up* for President since Howell's name has been almost withdrawn. I still think Davis has the best chance.

Feb. 9th.

The Constitution for the Provisional Government of "The Confederate States of America" was unanimously adopted—and we are now in the presence of a large crowd electing a President and Vice-President.

Jefferson Davis is elected President unanimously and Alex. H. Stephens Vice-President. The latter is a bitter pill to some of us, but we have swallowed it with as good a grace as we could. The truth is the *entente cordial* be-

tween Toombs and Stephens has been completely restored, and we are in a minority in our own Delegation..... But of course we put on the best grace possible for it would be very rediculous in us even to look disappointed. So is the world. The man who has fought against our rights and liberty is selected to wear the laurels of our victory. The result comes from a mandlin disposition to concilliate the Union men by giving the second place in the Confederacy to a co operationist.....

Under the Provisional Constitution there is *no Supreme Court* except the District Judges *in banc*. Of course this will not be true of the permanent Constitution.....The President of the Congress and its members were sworn to support it in the presence of the crowd this morning. Howell seized the Bible on which he swore the members and says he intends to keep it. *One man refused to kiss the Bible.* It was Judge Withers of So. Car. He is an avowed infidel.....We sat *nine* hours yesterday and until 11 o'clock last night.....Davis is *at home* and can't be inaugurated before the last of next week.

Feb. 10th.

Judge Nisbet and I went to a communicant's prayer-meeting last night at our church and I confessed that I felt better and more at home than I have since I reached the city. To-day we joined in celebrating the Lords Supper in the church and my heart was refreshed by communion with my Lord. How good he is to a poor erring sinner as I am!

Feb. 11th.

Perhaps you would like to know how the nominations of President and Vice-President were so unanimous. I do not believe there was any "intriguing" for the Presidency by Col. Davis or his friends, nor by anyone else *except the friends of Stephens,* who were very busy in trying to put him in the chair. On the night the Constitution was

adopted and an election ordered for the next day at 12 o'clock, we had a "counting of noses," and found that Alabama, Mississippi and Florida were in favor of Davis; Louisiana and Georgia for Howell; So. Car. divided between Howell and Davis, with Meminger and Withers wavering. Howell immediately announced his wish that Davis should be unanimously elected. When the Georgia Delegation met, Mr. Stephens moved to give Mr. Toombs a complimentary vote from Georgia. I suggested the fact that *four* States were for Davis and that it would place Mr. T. in a false position. Toombs expressed his doubt as to the fact that these *four* States were for Davis and preferred they should be canvassed, and Judge Crawford was commissioned to do so. Then came the question as to Vice-P., when Mr. Toombs returned the compliment by suggesting Mr. Stephens' name. Kenan and Nisbet responded in favor of it, but a deathlike silence reigned as to the balance. We saw that they had us, so after a few minutes Howell retired, Bartow followed him and I followed Bartow. I was told that was *the last of it,* no other word being spoken after we retired.

When we reached the Capitol we heard that Ga. had presented Mr. S. We placed ourselves right and then let it rock.....

Stephens was very anxious. He is to accept in a public speech at one o'clock to-day.....The crowd of Presidents in embryo was very large. I believe the Government could be stocked with officers from among them.....

I am writing to you now in the Senate Chamber in the presence of five hundred ladies and gentlemen collected to hear Mr. Stephens acceptance.....You will see that Mr. Toombs and myself are the Delegates from Georgia on the Committee to prepare a Permanent Constitution..... This is considered the post of honor in this Congress. I prefer it to all others, for in ordinary legislation I care little

for position, as I do not intend to continue this "line of business."

Feb. 12th.

Being on three Committees each of which is charged with important business I lose no time.....[The South Carolina Delegates] are very courteous in their intercourse with us.

Feb. 13th.

[I] beg you to come here *at once*.....Fifty years hence our children will refer with pleasure to the fact of having witnessed the inauguration of the First President. This will not take place before *Monday next* at least, and as we have not heard from Mr. Davis it may be the *middle* of next week before the inauguration.....Mr. Stephens is almost arrogant in his oracular announcements of what we should and should not do.....I for one would not yield to any such assumption.

I am working *hard*. Immediately after breakfast the Judiciary Committee meets. We work until 12 o'clock. Congress then sits until 3 or 4. From that time till night I work on my Committee on Printing. At 7.30 o'clock P. M. the Committee on Constitution meets and works until 10. Then I have my correspondence to bring up. I am declining [all] invitations [out].

Feb. 14th.

The Committee [on Constitution] work on it *every* night .....I think we shall get through the first examination to-night. We have agreed to go over it by paragraphs for revisal and then we shall report it. I am sure it will be adopted by the last of next week and then I am for *love* and *home*.

Feb. 15th.

The best friends of the Confederacy here are troubled at these continued rumors of President Davis being a re-constructionist. Many are regretting already his election. *If*

he does not come out boldly in his inaugural against this suicidal policy we shall have an explosion here, the end of which I cannot foretell. *He will be denounced* by a large majority of this Congress who are almost *unanimous* against such a proposition.

The most troublesome matters with us arise from the forts, Sumter and Pickens. Whenever a policy is settled I will write you. The almost universal belief here is that we shall *not have war.* The belief is almost as universal that *at present* we need not expect the border States to come with us;.....that the Peace Congress will patch up some compromise which will keep them in the Union.

Feb. 16th.

The foolish telegram sent off by the Associated Press as to "Free trade with all the world" was utterly unfounded. The Agent asked [a member] the news when he [member] was pretty high from wine, and his response induced the telegram. A tariff will be laid on goods from *all* foreign nations. The amount is not yet agreed on, but will probably be.....not less than the U. S. tariff of 1852.

Prest. Davis is to be here to-night. The Cabinet is entirely beyond conjecture. Toombs is spoken of for the State Department but says he would not have it. Yancey and Benjamin have also been named for places, but I think *no one,* has any, the slightest intimation of the views of the President.

Feb. 18th.

A crowd variously estimated from 3,000 to 10,000 are collected at the west end of the Capitol and are now cheering vociferously as the President-elect descends from the carriage to enter the Capitol. The ceremonies of inauguration will commence in a few moments and all is excitement, but my thoughts.....turn to you and home.

———— Well.....the ceremonies are over, the crowd dispersed and I return to my desk to commune with

you. The Inaugural pleased everybody and the manner in which Davis took the oath of office was most impressive. The scene was one worth seeing and remembering, and I regret more than ever that you were not here..... Bouquets were showered on him.....At the head of the procession was Capt. Semmes' Columbus Guards in a beautiful uniform of sky blue pants and bright red coats, carrying a banner with the Georgia coat of arms.....

I have not yet called on the President,.....especially as you will see.....my name is connected with the cabinet. I have no idea there is any foundation for the surmises, but I repeat to you *I will not have any* office whatever. We signed the enrolled Constitution to-day and I have preserved my pen to be laid up again as an heirloom for my children. They will have but few such memories of me.

Feb. 10th.

The President had a grand levee last evening and everybody and his wife were there—*except me.* I stayed in my room and *worked hard* on bills, etc., until past *one o'clock.* Various rumors are afloat as to the Cabinet, but as far as I hear Mr. Davis has consulted no one save Mr. Stephens and Mr. Meminger. The latter will probably be Secretary of the Treasury.....As to the cotton scheme, I have mentioned it to several. The objection raised by all is that .....to stop the supply of cotton *at once* would create a feeling of hostility in foreign nations towards us *at once* and *unnecessarily.* The firm and universal conviction here is that Great Britain, France and Russia will acknowledge us at once in the family of nations.

Feb. 20th.

Mr. Davis has not honored a man from Georgia save Stephens, even with a consultation. It is understood that he offered the Treasury Dept. to Toombs *by telegraph* and it is as well known that Toombs will decline it. Yancey is

to be Attorney General. Capt. Bragg is to be Secretary of War..... *These are the rumors.* The State Department was offered to *Mr. Barnwell and declined* by him, so says Keitt..... [Many are] disappointed..... here..... .....I had the folly to believe that there was great *patriotism* in this movement. God help us! It looks now as if it was nothing but office-seeking.

Feb. 21st.

Gwynn of California writes here that Seward told him *there would be no war.* [In another letter of same date comes the following] Three Cabinet offices were confirmed to-day: Toombs, Secretary of State, Meminger, Secretary of the Treasury and Pope Walker, Secretary of War..... It is understood here that Benjamin is Attorney General and Mr. Ellett, of Miss., Postmaster General..... The Cabinet is *strong* and gives satisfaction. Toombs telegraphs that his daughter is decidedly better and he will be here [soon].

Feb. 22d.

Today I delivered to the Printer about one third of the Constitution. By hard work tonight and tomorrow I think I can have it in the printers hands *entire* by the morrows night. [I hope] we can get it reported on Monday..... *I shall leave here* the day after the Permanent Constitution is adopted.....

President Davis dines at our table every day. He is very chatty and tries to be agreeable. He is not *great* in any sense of the term. The power of *will* has made him all that he is.

Feb. 25th.

[The President] has also appointed as Commissioners to Washington City Gov. Romaine of Louisiana, Martin J. Crawford of Georgia and John Forsyth of Alabama. These appointments were reported to Congress before I ever heard *either* name as suggested. Crawford's appointment took us all by surprise except Stephens and Crawford himself who

I suppose were consulted. The rest of us were not..... Crawford has just told me that he never heard of this appointment until this morning.

Feb. 26th.

We have the Permanent Constitution reported to the House to-day. Many are for putting it off.....until after a recess, others of us are urging its immediate consideration. .....We passed an Act this morning giving to each of the Commissioners to Europe $12000 per annum for their compensation. Yancey and Slidell are spoken of..... but Mr. Davis acts for himself and receives no advice except from those who press their advice unasked.

Feb. 28th.

President Davis *will not* accept of the Georgia Regiments *in body* and make them and their officers regulars of the line. They will be received very much on the footing of Volunteer Regiments.

Mallory of Florida will be the Secretary of the Navy. Yancey is one of the Commissioners to Europe.....We have just passed the bill authorizing a loan of fifteen million dollars and have laid an export duty of ⅛ of one per cent per pound on cotton to raise a sinking fund to pay the debt. This to commence August 1st next.

March 1st.

I declined two invitations to tea drinkings last night. .....and went to the prayermeeting and from my heart I thank God that I went. It was a small company but we were all melted to tears and our Lord and Saviour was with us. It was good for us to be there.

March 2d.

We meet to night and will continue night sessions until we are through the Constitution, which *I hope* will be *each* day.....I am worn out and homesick and starved and from my heart can say I am *sorry I ever came here.* File this letter away and read it to me whenever hereafter the

silly notion takes my head that my *services* are peculiarly necessary to the safety of the Republic.....

Today Texas came in by her Delegates and we have the full complement of Pleiads in our galaxy now.

March 3d.

Last night.....I was summoned to the room of the President. He informed me that he had just received a telegram from Arkansas bringing a Macedonian cry for *help*. That on consultation they had agreed that I of all others could do most to save that State at this crisis; that in Toombs' nervous language "a State hung on my action" .....and he begged me to go *at once* as the Convention meets tomorrow.

I confess I was non plussed. But.....I gave him three objections which together were insurmountable: 1st my duty to the State of Georgia to remain here until the chief object of my coming (the Permanent Constitution) was perfected; 2d the State Convention; 3rd and not least my duty to my family.....Mrs. Davis protested that you like other wives must give your husband to the country at this juncture. But I [was firm in my refusal.].....

We shall adopt a flag in the morning and hoist it on the Capitol at 12 o'clock.....

Our news from Virginia is more promising, but I have no hope of her coming *now*.

March 4th.

The question *of pay to members* is discussed. It will settle down on $8.00 per day and 10 cents mileage. This will pay me the enormous sum of *$300* for which I have lost I doubt not in my private business *$3000*. I am urging Congress *to take no pay* and set an example of patriotism.

The nomination of Mr. Mallory as Secretary of the Navy was confirmed to-day after a struggle. His *soundness* on the secession question was doubted. We are receiving Lincoln's inaugural by telegraph. It will not affect one man

here, it matters not what it contains. The tariff question is troubling us a good deal. The absolute free trade principle is very strongly advocated.

March 5th.

The President appealed to me again to go to Arkansas but I positively refused. This morning he and his wife took seats by me at the breakfast table. Mrs. D. was very affable and asked many questions about you and my children..... I have not yet paid my respects to Mrs. D., but must call on her as soon as I can get a chance.

A telegram just received here from Washington City says the universal feeling there is that since Lincoln's inaugural, *war must come.* I don't believe it yet, though I confess that document is a bolder announcement of coercion than I had expected. I can't say that I regretted to see its tone and spirit, for it brings the border States to an immediate decision between the North and the South..... Last night we passed a bill raising a regular army of 10000 men and another authorizing the President to receive into the service of the Confederate States 100000 volunteers. A former Bill allowed the President to accept any organized bodies of men in the Provisional army. So you see we have provided a most abundant defence if we need it.

March 6th.

I found out yesterday why George Sanders was here. He is an agent from Douglass and is working to keep out of the Constitution any clause which will exclude "Free States." The game now is to reconstruct *under our Constitution*.....Stephens and Toombs are both for leaving the door open. Wright goes with them and Hill also *we fear.* Kenan goes with us and this gives Howell, Bartow, Nisbet and myself a majority in our Delegation.....*Confidentially* and to be kept a secret *from the public,* Mr. Davis is opposed to us on this point also and wants to keep the

door open. The Mississippi Delegation are wax in his hands.....I am much afraid of the result.

I struggled hard this morning to place in the Constitution a provision which would stop Sunday mails, but failed. I am telling secrets in saying this to you, but I rely on your discretion not to complicate me.

March 7th.

I am making another effort to stop Sunday mails. May God help me if I am doing his will.....

You will see by the papers that I passed my resolution in reference to International Copyright *nem. con.*

[After a recess Congress reconvened and Mr. Cobb returned to Montgomery.]

April 29th.

There is a good deal of talk *about going to Richmond.* I would not be surprised if the whole Government was moved there as soon as the Virginia Delegates arrive and join us. The President favors it decidedly.....Many are of the decided opinion *that there will be no war at last.* Howell insists that this is the true view.....

April 30th.

Yesterday.....I signed the Permanent Constitution of the Confederate States and have thus perfected my "rebellion." I trust that my children hereafter may recur with pride to it, whether by others I am canonized as a saint or hung as a traitor.

Cobb's Notes on the Confederate Constitution.

[Mr. Cobb's notes were very roughly jotted down, and by their very nature show he never intended them for any eye save his own, and even for himself they were to act only as hints for his memory. Some are undecipherable, many are so condensed as to be without meaning to us; in others the thought has to be aided by inference. Mr. Hull has with rare skill and patience extracted everything possible from them. Still better everything he gives here is trustworthy as reproducing the original. So far as known this material comes from the printer's hand for the first time in any capacity whatever.—Ed.]

The Provisional Constitution adopted by the Provisional Congress was simply the Constitution of the United States with a change of name and such amendments as were suited to the conditions of the new Confederacy.

The Committee on the Permanent Constitution consisted of twelve members: Messrs. Chestnut and Rhett, of South Carolina, Smith and Walker, of Alabama, Morton and Owens of Florida, Thomas R. R. Cobb and Toombs, of Georgia, DeClouet and Sparrow, of Louisiana, Clayton and Harris, of Mississippi. Texas was not represented on the Committee, no Delegates from that State having taken seats in Congress.

The Committee took the old Constitution as a model, making such substitutions and amendments as they thought necessary and wise. The draft of the Constitution as reported to Congress and adopted unanimously, on March 11th was made by Mr. T. R. R. Cobb and is in his own handwriting, a few pages being apparently in the handwriting of Mr. Sparrow.

Private notes of the Committee's action with original amendments offered were preserved by Mr. Cobb, some of which escaped the ravages of war. These notes show some interesting features in the organization of the new Republic.

The name first agreed upon in the Provisional Congress was "The Confederate States of America," but in the Committee on motion of Mr. Walker, "Confederate States" was stricken out and "Federal Republic" substituted.[1]

Mr. Cobb moved to insert "invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God," which was carried.

In Article I, Section 1, Mr. Chestnut's amendment that

[1] The preamble then read, "We, the people of the several States assenting to and ratifying this constitution, each State acting for itself and in its independent character, do ordain and establish this Constitution as a compact between us.

"The style of this Confederacy shall be 'The Federal Republic of America.'"

"granted" be changed to "delegated" reading "All legislative powers herein delegated," was carried.

It was moved to strike out "United States" and add "Federal Republic."[2]

On motion of Mr. Toombs in designating electors in each State, in Section 2, the words "shall be citizens of the Federal Republic, and" were inserted.

On motion of Mr. Cobb the words "been seven years" [a citizen] were stricken out and "be" inserted.

In determining the bases of apportionments, in third clause, Mr. Rhett moved to change the Federal bases and include all persons, but this was lost. He then moved that the number of Representatives be one for every 50,000 [instead of 30,000 as in the old Constitution] and this was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Sparrow "Union" was stricken out and "Republic" was inserted in this clause.[3]

In the election of Senators, Clause 1, Section 3, by the Legislatures, Mr. Cobb moved to insert "at the regular session next immediately preceding the commencement of the term of service," which was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Chestnut the 2d Clause of Section 5 was changed by requiring the concurrence of two-thirds "of the whole number" to expel a member of the House or Senate.

In Section 4 Mr. Cobb moved to limit the power of Congress to change the time or place of choosing Senators by inserting "times and" so as to read "except as to times and places of choosing Senators." This was carried. Mr. Sparrow moved to add to Section 6, "But Congress may, by law, grant to the principal officers in each of the Executive Departments a seat upon the floor of either House with the

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[2] Note the care with which the sovereignty of the States was guarded.

[3] The Committee seemed determined not to admit any word which could be construed as favoring a National Government.

privilege of discussing any measure appertaining to his department." The amendment was adopted.

The power of Congress to lay and collect taxes and duties was limited by making Section 8, Clause 1, read "for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defence, &c."

Mr. Cobb also moved to amend the powers of Congress: "But Congress shall not grant the elective franchise to any naturalized citizen who shall have immigrated to this Republic after his arrival at the age of twenty-one years in any time less than ten years after such immigration." This motion was lost.

Mr. Smith offered an amendment to the Clause relating to the President signing bills, permitting him to approve certain appropriations and disapprove others in the same bill, which was adopted.

Mr. Toombs moved that "no money shall be appropriated from the Treasury to support the Post Office establishment" which was changed to read "the expenses of the Post Office Department after March 1st, 1863, shall be paid out of its own revenues."

Mr. Cobb moved to strike out the words prohibiting a State from "emitting bills of credit" and this was carried.

Section 9, Clause 1, on motion of Mr. Walker was made to read that the importation of negroes of the African race from any foreign country other than the Slaveholding States or Territories of the United States of America, is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws and shall effectually prevent the same. Congress shall have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of, or Territory not belonging to this Republic."

On motion of Mr. Smith the following was added to the powers forbidden to Congress: "Congress shall appropriate no money from the Treasury, except by a vote of two-thirds

of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, unless it be asked and estimated by someone of the heads of Departments, and submitted to Congress by the President, or for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies, or for the payment of claims against the Federal Republic, the justice of which shall have been judicially declared by a tribunal which it is hereby made the duty of Congress to establish."

Mr. Cobb moved to add "All bills appropriating money shall specify in Federal currency the exact amount of each appropriation and the purposes for which it is made; and Congress shall grant no extra compensation to any public contractor, officer or servant, after such contract shall have been made or such services rendered," which was carried.

On motion of Mr. Rhett the term of office of the President and Vice President was changed from four to six years and they were declared not re-eligible.

Mr. Sparrow moved to strike out fourteen years' residence in the Federal Republic as a qualification for President, but this motion was lost.

Mr. Cobb moved that Presidential Electors be elected by the Legislatures of the several States, but the motion was lost.

Mr. Toombs then moved that they be elected by the House of Representatives and that was lost.

As to appointments by the President, Mr. Cobb moved to add "but no person rejected by the Senate shall be reappointed to the same office during any succeeding recess of the Senate" and this was carried.

In regard to the tenure of office of Judges, Mr. Cobb moved to strike out "during good behaviour," which was lost.

Mr. Cobb moved to add to Sec. 2, Article 3, "but no State shall be sued by a citizen or subject of any foreign State," and this was carried.

Mr. Walker moved to amend by denying to the Supreme

Court appellate jurisdiction over the State Courts, but the motion was lost.

Mr. Cobb moved to confine the admission of new States to slaveholding States, but Mr. Clayton's substitute protecting the institution of slavery in all the States of the Republic was adopted.

However on motion of Mr. Walker a vote of two-thirds of the whole House and two-thirds of the whole Senate, the Senate voting by States, was required to admit a new State into the Republic.

In regard to amendments to the Constitution, Mr. Rhett offered a substitute, which was adopted, for the provision in force permitting any three States, legally assembled in their several conventions, to make demand upon Congress to summon a convention of all the States to consider such amendments, and should any of the proposed amendments be agreed on by the Convention, voting by States, and the same be ratified by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States or by conventions in two-thirds of them, they shall thenceforward form a part of this Constitution.

Mr. Chestnut's amendment making nullification a rightful remedy was not carried.

Mr. Cobb offered this amendment: "All the laws passed by the Confederate States of America shall continue in force as the laws of the Federal Republic until the same are repealed or modified; and all the officers appointed under the said Confederate States shall remain in office until their successors are appointed and qualified or the offices are abolished."

On the final revision of the Constitution, Mr. Walker moved to change the name back to "Confederate States of America." Some discussion ensued on this motion and some one moved to table it, but finally it was carried and the name Federal Republic was stricken out wherever it occurred and Confederate States substituted.

Mr. Cobb moved to insert a clause in the Preamble declaring "the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Departments shall be kept distinct," but the motion was lost.

Mr. Cobb moved to amend as follows: "The Confederate States hereby recognize their ultimate liability for the payment *pro rata* of all debts contracted by the United States prior to the 20th day of November, 1860, in the proportion of their representative population to the entire representative population of the United States." The amendment was lost.

The Constitution as amended was reported to the Congress. On March 11th, 1861, on the question of its adoption, the vote was taken by yeas and nays and the Constitution was unanimously adopted. Of fifty members of Congress, six were absent, the remaining forty-four voting aye.

A comparison of the two Constitutions will show the following salient differences:

The Preamble of the Confederate Constitution holds unmistakably the sovereignty of the States and declares the Constitution to be a compact between them.

It acknowledged the overruling providence of God.

Where the old Constitution by "other persons" *meant* slaves, the new Constitution boldly called them slaves.

It restrained Congress from changing the times of choosing Senators.

It permitted a Cabinet Officer to appear upon the floor of either House and discuss any measure appertaining to his Department, if Congress should so enact.

It authorized the President to approve a part of an appropriation bill and disapprove any other part.

The power of Congress to levy and collect taxes, which under the old Constitution has been construed to be practically unlimited, was by the Confederate Constitution clearly and definitely restricted to the payment of the pub-

lic debt, the common defense and the expenses of the Government.

The Postoffice Department was to pay its own way.

No person rejected by the Senate might be reappointed to the same office by the President during the succeeding recess.

The power of Congress to appropriate money from the Treasury for extraordinary purposes was denied except by a two-thirds vote of the House and Senate, and no extra compensation for services rendered was permitted.

The President was not eligible for re-election after the expiration of his term of office and this term of office was six years instead of four.

Some of these changes were distinct gains and were the result of close observation of the ambiguity and deficiencies in certain clauses of the old Constitution.

The personnel of the Committee on the Constitution comprised the highest order of intellect, legal ability and statesmanship in the South, in no way inferior to the framers of the Constitution of 1789, with the advantage of seventy years experience under that Constitution; and the instrument which they reported was perhaps as near perfect for its purpose as the wisdom of man could make it.

FRENCH REFUGEES TO NEW ORLEANS IN 1809.

(With Documents.)

By Luis M. Perez.

At the close of 1802, the French army in Santo Domingo having wasted away from disease, and Leclerc himself having fallen a victim to the yellow fever, the white population of the island was at the mercy of the infuriated negroes, who set about to plunder and massacre with unprecedented barbarity. There consequently ensued an exodus of all the whites who could under any circumstances make their escape; the greater number fled in a destitute condition, but their slaves, from interest or attachment, for the most part, followed them in their exile.

More than 27,000 of these people of all classes, colors, ages and conditions reached the ports of Santiago and Baracoa in the island of Cuba during the year 1803, coming nearly all from Jeremie, Port au Prince, St. Marc, Mole St. Nicholas and the neighboring keys; several hundred made their way to Havana. The refugees were cared for as well as their numbers and the condition of the people among whom they came permitted, and the governor of the island, the Marquis of Someruelos, made generous provision for their needs. They soon proved themselves agriculturalists and artisans of remarkable proficiency and industry. They acquired large tracts of uncleared land which in a short time, out of their sheer industry, flourished with coffee, cotton and cane fields. The exportation of coffee from Santiago, which had never exceeded 8,000 *arrobas,* increased to 80,000 and then to 300,000 within five years after the arrival of the Santo Domingan emigrants, and the condition of the city of

Santiago was greatly improved from the large influx of artisans and law-abiding citizens.*

But the course of political events in Europe in a half decade brought again to these innocent people persecution, exile and ruin. In March, 1808, the French troops under Murat occupied Madrid and in April Fernando was enticed across the border and held a prisoner, and Spain seemed entirely in the hands of Napoleon. But the Spanish people, who had long been burning with hatred for the French, offered a fierce resistance to the French occupation of their country. On the memorable 2nd of May, 1808, the fury of the people broke out at Madrid against the intolerable *gabachos,* and the struggle which was then begun was prosecuted with the most intense hatred. In the Spanish colonies the hostility to the French was as bitter as in the mother country, and the peaceful Santo Domingan emigrants who had settled in Cuba were threatened with destruction at the hands of the Spanish populace and were happy to escape with their lives whither they could go.

The proclamation for the departure of the French from Cuba was issued at Santiago on April 11, 1809. On May 20 the governor requested the American vessels in port to lend themselves to the transportation of the French subjects and their "domestics,"[1] and the exiles soon began to arrive at New Orleans in alarming numbers.

From about May 10 to August 19 there arrived at New Orleans 55 vessels with exiles from Cuba; 48 from Santiago, 6 from Baracoa and 1 from Havana. The total number of

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* Cf. Pezuela, *Diccionario Geografico, Estadistico, Historico, de la Isla de Cuba.* ii, 180.

[1] The following is the text of the proclamation:

El Gobor de esta Plaza, ruega a los Sres Capitanes de los Buques Americanos qe se hallan en estado de conducir los sugetos Franceses a los Estados Unidos, tengan la bondad de admitirlos con sus Domesticos.

Cuba 20 de Mayo de 1809.
Kindelan.

emigrants up to August 7 was 6,060, of whom 1,887 were whites, 2,060 free colored or black people, and 2,113 slaves. Between the 7th and the 19th there arrived about 1,484 more, of whom at least 884 were slaves.[2]

[2] The following tables are compiled from four detailed reports in Gov. Claiborne's Correspondence and omit from them only the names of the vessels and of their captains and the number of passengers coming in each vessel.

Date.	No. of Vessels.	Santiago.	Baracoa.	Havana.
Up to June 14, ...	16	15	—	1
June 14–July 8, ...	12	12	—	—
July 8–July 18, ...	6	5	1	—
July 18–Aug. 7, ...	9	4	5	—
Aug. 7–Aug. 19, . .	12	12	—	—
Total, ...	55	48	6	1

	Date.	Whites.	Free.	Slaves.	Total.
Men, . .	Up to June 14, .	390	84	207	681
	June 14–July 8, .	339	94	245	678
	July 8–July 18, .	220	93	123	436
	July 18–Aug. 7, .	40	11	28	79
		989	282	603	1,874
Women, .	Ibid, ...	154	309	301	764
		200	299	350	849
		79	284	211	574
		22	34	43	99
		455	926	905	2,286
Children, (under 12).	Ibid, ...	122	233	175	530
		213	350	217	780
		81	231	150	462
		27	38	63	128
	Total, ...	443	852	605	1,900
	Total, ...	1,887	2,060	2,113	6,060

The last report states that 600 more passengers had arrived and a letter of the 19th mentions the arrival of an additional 884 slaves.

It was a serious problem for the community and especially for its French poulation, to supply the means of temporary support for so large a number of people in so destitute a condition. Their coming to New Orleans also had the effect of arousing the race rivalries which existed there and gave Governor Claiborne's enemies a pretext for inveighing against his administration and for accusing him of favoring alien, at the expense of American, interests.[3] The emigrants brough with them a large number of slaves, contrary to the Act of Congress of March 2, 1807, and this, too, was a source of much trouble. The treatment accorded these slaves is an interesting bit of history.

The following documents from Governor Claiborne's Correspondence in the Department of State, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Washington, D. C., give a rather full account of the emigrants and of the interesting situation created at New Orleans by their presence there, and we leave them to speak for themselves. They will supplement the account and the documents quoted in Gayarré's History of Louisiana, iv. 214-219. There appears to be nothing else written on the subject.

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[3]A census of the Territory of Orleans was taken in 1806. According to one statement (Claiborne to the Sec. of State, May 18, 1809) there were, in 1806, 26,069 white persons in the Territory. Of these at least 13,000 were natives of Louisiana, for the most part descendants of the French; about 3,500 were natives of the United States, and the rest, about 9,500 were Europeans generally, including native-born French, Spaniards, English, Germans and Irish. Claiborne estimated, that between 1806 and 1809 there had been an increase from emigration of from three or four thousand free persons, two-thirds of whom were native Americans. (This was of course before the emigration from Cuba.) The total population of the Territory is stated to have been, in 1806, 52,998; 26,069 whites; 3,355 free people of color and 23,574 slaves. Another estimate ("A General return of the Census of the Territory of Orleans taken for the year 1806," Dec. 31, 1806, Claiborne's Correspondence) puts the total population at 55,534; the total number of whites at 25,493; the free people of color at 3,350 and the slaves at 22,701. The same document gives the returns for the County of Orleans as follows:—total population, 17,001; whites, 6,311; free people of color, 2,312; slaves, 8,378.

DOCUMENTS.

[General James Wilkinson to a Deputation of French Subjects.]

Havannah, Apr. 2nd, '09.

Gentlemen!

In the moment of my embarcation I have been honored by your application of this date.

You do not form a false estimation of my sympathy for your hard fortunes and your sufferings of which I am a spectator; nor can you too highly appreciate the clemency, the justice, the humanity of the Government of the United States.

But in all cases where penalties attach to the violation of the laws, it would be deceptive, did I encourage you to look for their relaxation.* All that I can promise you is the exertion of my influence and that of my friends to procure for you every consideration and indulgence which may be reconcilable to sound policy and the national interests. It may be proper further to observe, that if competent authority may not be vested in the Secretary of the Treasury Department, relief must be sought for by petition to Congress, in which I shall most cordially join. With my most sincere wishes for your safe voyage and the termination of all your sorrow and suffering, I remain Gentlemen

Your fellow man and best wisher,

(Signed) James Wilkinson.

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* The reference is to the Act of March 2, 1807, prohibiting the importation of slaves.

[GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.]

New Orleans, May 28th, 1809.

Sir:

A vessel from St. Yago, with 99 white passengers and 28 slaves arrived at this port on yesterday. The passengers with their baggage have been permitted to land; but the slaves are detained on board, and the vessel is under seizure. The passengers, or rather the heads of families, shortly after their arrival presented themselves at my office and gave me to understand that "they were an unfortunate and unoffending people, who forced by the government of Cuba to abandon that Island, had come to seek an asylum under the government of the U. States; that they were all farmers, and greatly desirous to possess themselves of some lands on which (with the permission of the government) they proposed *to reside for life;* that having been obliged to make great sacrifices of their property in Cuba, their pecuniary means were limited; too much so, to continue in this city, and that as well from necessity as choice, they should retire to the interior of the Territory as soon as possible; they lamented the obstacles which the Laws opposed to the landing of the *few faithful domesticks* who had accompanied them in their misfortunes, and whose services were now so essential to their support, and they seemed to indulge a hope that Congress when advised of their unhappy situation, would pass a special act in their favor."

After expressing my sympathy for their misfortunes, I observed that "the stranger who should seek an asylum in the U. States was amply protected by the Laws, and secured in the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry; that the importation of slaves into the Territory of the U. States, being prohibited, the vessels importing them must be proceeded against as the Law had directed; that considering the peculiar and distressed situation of the Passengers, and the difficulty and expense which would have attended the trans-

porting of themselves and baggage from the Plaquemine, I had dispensed with a regulation of Police (which was to retain all vessels with slaves from a foreign Port, at the Fort at Plaquemine) and permitted the vessel to approach the city. But that it was not in my power (as related to the slaves) to extend to them a further indulgence.

The enclosed (A) is a letter which has been addressed to me by Mr. Maurice Rogers the United States Consul at St. Yago from which it appears that he "had apprized the French inhabitants who held slaves of the Law which prohibited their introduction into the Territories of the U. States; but that he should not have thought himself wholly acquitted on the score of humanity, had he utterly extinguished their hopes, that in their peculiar situation, the Government may have the power and the inclination to grant them some relief from the precise rigor of established Statutes."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Some uneasiness is expressed at the coming of these unfortunate exiles into this Territory, and the expediency of refusing them an Asylum has been suggested. I am aware, Sir, that if the presence of such a body of strangers would *endanger the political safety of this Territory,* I should possess the power, nor would I hesitate to order them to depart: but existing circumstances do not justify *an apprehension of the kind.* They may indeed subject the good inhabitants of the Territory to some inconvenience and I regret to see a space in our society filled with a foreign population, which I had hoped would have been occupied by native citizens of the U. States. But these considerations do not authorize me to withold that hospitality and indulgence which humanity and courtesy require; and to which their peculiar and distressed situation so strongly recommend them.

William C. C. Claiborne.

[PETITION OF MASTERS OF VESSELS SEIZED FOR TRANSPORTING SLAVES TO THE UNITED STATES.]

To his Excellency, James Madison, President of the United States. The Petition of George Davis, of the *Artic,* Wm. Jefferson, of the *Genl. Green,* Wm. Hendy, of the *Milford,* Robt. I. Sparrow, of the *Freeman Ellis,* Wm. M. Shackford, of the *Robert,* Wm. Warnum, of the *Collina,* &c.

That your petitioners severally masters and owners aforesaid are threatened with the forfeiture of their vessels and cargoes, and with the infliction of severe and grievous penalties, and being advised that in your Excellency alone is invested a competent authority to relieve them from the peculiar hardships of their condition, they beg leave to submit those extraordinary circumstances which they believe and confidently hope will induce your Excellency to exercise towards them the discretion with which you are invested.

Your petitioners severally being in the port of St. Yago de Cuba were urged to transport the French inhabitants of that place by Governor Kindelan who, by proclamation, had previously ordered them preemptorily to depart from the Island. Your petitioners aver that at this period these persons were exposed to the unrelenting fury of an incensed and lawless Spanish population; and without an immediate departure not only their properties, but also their lives would in all probability have been sacrificed.

Your petitioners moreover declare that they also know the order of Governor Kindelan though it affects to be a request or prayer, and the impossibility of procuring the transportation of these persons, otherwise than in American vessels, felt a coercion on themselves to furnish means for their departure.

And further your petitioners beg leave to state to your Excellency that from certain verbal assurances of Maurice

Rogers, Esqr., Consul of the United States at St. Yago de Cuba, and also from a letter which he addressed to the Governor of Louisiana, as well as from a letter from Brigadier General Wilkinson commanding the army of the United States, your petitioners were relieved of any apprehensions which they might have had of the propriety of their voyages; and accordingly proceeded thereon under a firm conviction that no evil could happen to themselves even from a violation of the strict letter of the laws of their country.

But so it was, may it please your Excellency, upon their arrival at the port of New Orleans, their vessels and cargoes were seized and are now libelled in the District Court of the U. States for this Territory.

Wherefore your petitioners pray that your Excellency may be pleased to interpose your authority and direct the Attorney of the United States to enter a *nolle prosequi* on their several cases, or grant such other relief to your petitioners as your Excellency may in your discretion be pleased to dispense to them. And your petitioners will ever, &c., &c.

[Here follow the names of the petitioners as above.]

[July 7, 1809.]

[Report of James Mather, Mayor of New Orleans, to Governor Claiborne.]

New Orleans, July 18, 1809.

[Extract.]

Sir:

* * * * * * * * * *

1st. In what regards the Blacks, they are trained up to the habits of strict discipline and consist wholly of Africans brought up from Guineamen in the Island of Cuba, or of faithful slaves who have fled with their masters from St. Domingo as early as the year 1803.

2nd. A few characters among the free people of color

have been represented to me as dangerous to the peace of this Territory. I must however own to your Excellency that in every other Territory but this, the most part of them would not, I think, be viewed under the same light if due attention should be paid to the effects of the difference of language, and if it should be considered that these very men possess property and have useful trades to live upon.

In the application of the Territorial law relative to free people of color, I have been particular in causing such of them as had been informed against, to give bond for their leaving the Territory within the time allowed in such cases. In the meantime there has not been one single complaint, that I know of, against any of them concerning their conduct since their coming to this place.

3rdly. The white persons, consisting *chiefly of Planters and merchants of St. Domingo* who took refuge on the shores of Cuba about six years ago, appear to be *an active, industrious people.* They evince till now, upon every occasion, their respect for our laws and their confidence in our government. They have suffered a great deal from the want of provisions both at Sea and in the River. Several of them have died and many are now yet a prey to diseases originating, as it appears, from the use of unwholesome food, and from the foul air they have breathed while heaped up together with their slaves, in the holds of small vessels during their passage from Cuba. Since a period of nearly three months there has been no less than four hundred poor widows, sick, orphans, or old men, supported by the charity of our citizens, who have hastened in procuring subscriptions for their relief, and have been as forward in standing securities in the amount required, for the forthcoming of their negroes, so that the whole number of slaves in the enclosed statement has been delivered agreeably to your directions.

. . . . . .

I have the honor, &c.,

(Signed) James Mather, Mayor.

[GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JOHN GRAHAM.]

New Orleans, July 19th, 1809.

Dear Sir:

* * * * * * * * * *

Since my last Official Dispatches to the Government, the number of the Fugitive French from Cuba has greatly augmented; they amount now, including whites, black and people of color to upwards of five thousand and several hundred more are said to be on the River.

I regret the cause which has thrown upon our shores so great a number of foreigners. I would much rather that the space in this society, which these emigrants will fill, had been preserved for native citizens of the United States; but existing circumstances would not justify me in refusing them the Asylum which they sought. As relates to the slaves I am not certain that I took the correct course. I do not see however in what other manner I could have disposed of them. Under the Law of 1808*, these slaves were reported to me by the Collector, and I was requested to name a person to whom they should be delivered. As to their disposition, I had alone to consult my own discretion, for neither the Laws of the U. States or of the Territory had made a provision on this point. To have sent them out of the Territory would have been attended with an expense which I had not the means of meeting, nor was it easy to select a proper place. To have confined them in prison would have been an inhuman act; it would moreover have been attended with an expense which I was neither authorized or prepared to incur; to have deprived the owners of the present use of the negroes would have been to have thrown them (the owners) as Paupers upon this community, who are already sufficiently burthened with contributions for the poor, the sick and the aged emigrants. These are

* i. e. The Act of Congress of March 2, 1807.

some of the considerations which induced me to place the negroes in possession of their masters, upon their entering into bond that they shall be forthcoming on the requisition of the Governor of the Territory for the time being. But these considerations do not justify my conduct in the opinion of some of my countrymen in New Orleans. I am denounced by them as a Frenchman and am in the receipt of more newspaper abuse that I ever before experienced.

Present me respectfully to your Lady!

I am Dr. Sir,
Your friend—
William C. C. Claiborne.

John Graham, Esqr.,
Washington.

[GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO THE MAYOR OF NEW ORLEANS.]

(Copy)

New Orleans, August 4th, 1809.

Sir:

Will you be good enough to answer as soon as your convenience will permit the following questions:—

1st. How many persons have arrived at this port from Cuba since your report to me of the 18th ultimo?

2nd. What is the general conduct of the Cuba refugees? Are they industrious? Do they manifest true respect for the laws?

3d. What pursuits do they appear to be engaged in? Are there many mechanics among them?

4th. How many have died since their arrival? Do they still appear to be sickly? Are any afflicted with maladies which appear contagious?

5th. Do they seem desirous to retire into the interior of the Territory? Or do they appear to wish to fix themselves permanently in this city?

6th. Have you been enabled to execute the laws of the Territory as relates to the freemen of color? Are they retiring from the Territory, and to what place do they seem to give a preference?

And lastly, will you be pleased to inform me the general state of the City, as regards its health and police—I am sorry to impose upon you so much trouble;—But it is indispensable, that I should keep the President of the U. States correctly advised on all these matters, and know of no source whence I could receive information more to be depended upon than the Mayor of New Orleans.

I renew to you the assurances of my confidence, esteem and respect—

I am Sir
Very respectfully
yo: hble Sevt
(Signed) William C. C. Claiborne.

James Mather, Esqr.,
Mayor of New Orleans.

[The Mayor of New Orleans to Governor Claiborne.]

[Extract.]
(Copy)

New Orleans, August 7th, 1809.

Sir:

My delay in answering the questions No. 1 to 6, contained in your Excellency's letter of the 4th Instant, has its cause in my wish of being more particular and of procuring upon each point information that can be relied on.—

1stly. The enclosed list of passengers from Cuba will be a solution to question the first.—The Brig *Hunter* from Baracoa and the Ships *Madison* and *Two Brothers* from St. Yago, have come to Port since the formation of the List, and have on board about six hundred persons from Cuba.—

2ndly. The next point relates to the general conduct of the Cuba Refugees, and leads me to repeat to your Excellency the same testimony I have in their favor the 18th of July last.—I have not had one complaint lodged with me against any of them since the first arrivals to this date. Their conduct generally breathes respect for our Laws; and their industry and activity must be astonishing indeed, since it has till now afforded the most part of those who had no slaves, the means of lawfully getting a livelihood; and that, too, in spite of the increase of prices of house-rent, and of many other difficulties.

3rdly. Out of the whole number of male grown persons it must be admitted that *two-thirds of them possess some trade.* Several among them who once possessed estates, or belonged to wealthy families in the Island of St. Domingo now follow the occupations of Cabinet Makers, Turners, Cakers, Glaziers, Upholsterers; and I will venture to assert that in the above, and twenty other different trades, there are not less than six hundred men from Cuba usefully employed among us, at this present time.—

There are unfortunately among the white Refugees many poor women both old and young, and some old or disabled men, who cannot provide for themselves and will remain a burden on the community so long as there will be no alms house at New Orleans and our charity Hospital shall remain in its present unimproved state.—

4th. By the extract delivered this morning to me by the Curate of this Parish, the total deaths in June and July last amounts to 24 white persons from Cuba; 10 of whom were children under 5 years of age and 5 were above fifty; according to the same document 42 persons of color from Cuba have died during the same period, 32 of whom were children under 5 years and four above 50 years.—

.....I see by the statement of sick persons from Cuba made by the Commissary of Police according to my directions that the number of sick whom he has been able to discover amount to about 70 white persons of all ages;—that the maladies in the children are generally due to teething and to worms.—That in the grown persons, intermittent fevers, fluxes, and affections of the scurvy generally prevail.—I shall add that nobody can with any appearance of reason contend that there has been during this season an instance of contagious sickness known to exist throughout the City and its suburbs. —

[The Report then explains at length that the emigrants have not retired into the interior of the Territory, since they could not abandon their slaves, that a small number of free blacks left the Territory and that the exact attitude of the emigrants on the subject has not been ascertained.]

[Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of State.]

New Orleans, August 5th, 1809.

Sir:

.....Of late the newspaper abuse is intolerable and no one so much the object of it as myself. The principal cause of this is *the power of appointing to office.* Among the numerous adventurers to this Territory, are many native Citizens of the U. States; *they,* for the most part, are needy, and finding it difficult to maintain themselves by private pursuits, they become pressing applicants for office. I can provide only for a few, and when *an appointment* was made, I have generally found (as was formerly experienced by some person mentioned in history, whose name I have forgotten) that it tended only to make one man ungrateful and to add forty or fifty to the number of my enemies. If you should give yourself the trouble to read the newspapers

of this place you will perceive that the asylum afforded here to the unfortunate Exiles from Cuba continues a cause of great complaint against me. (I repeat (what I stated in a previous letter) that many good Americans are dissatisfied with so great an influx of foreigners. But the most clamorous are those residents among us whose hearts are either wholly English or wholly Spanish.)

Another charge exhibited against me is that I have given my confidence and patronage to Frenchmen to the exclusion of native Americans. In truth, I am not conscious *of any bias, other* than toward native Americans and which I have wished to restrain, for in my character as Governor of the Territory I have considered it a duty to be just to the various descriptions of people of which the population is composed, and to conciliate the affections of all towards the Government. Hence it is that I have endeavored to adhere to the policy (which I have reason to believe the general administration approved) of dividing the offices as nearly as may be between the native Americans and the Creoles, or ancient inhabitants of the Country. But it has so happened, from the quiet, unambitious disposition of the ancient inhabitants that contrary to what I desire *nearly all the offices of profit,* and *an equal share of those of trust only,* are possessed by native Americans. But they themselves are discontented. The fact is, Sir, that my countrymen (with some few exceptions) who have emigrated here, although they don't exceed one-sixth of the population, would wish to govern the Territory to the exclusion of the ancient inhabitants, nor will any Governor be popular among them who does not accede to this unreasonable pretention.

I have the honr, &c.,

William C. C. Claiborne.

The Hon.,

Sect. of State.

[GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO WILLIAM SAVAGE, COMMERCIAL AGENT OF THE UNITED STATES AT KINGSTON, JAMAICA.]

(Copy)

New Orleans, November 10th, 1809.

Sir:

I observe by the Capitulation of Sto. Domingo that the Inhabitants have permission to remove with their effects within a limited time, and believing it probable that many may be inclined to emigrate to the U. States, I will thank you, Sir, to inform such as should pass by way of Jamaica, that it is advisable for them to seek an Asylum elsewhere, than in the Territory of Orleans, for the Refugees from Cuba, who have arrived here, are so numerous as to be embarrassing to our own citizens:—New Orleans and its vicinity are crowded with strangers;—House Rent and Provisions are extravagantly high, families of limited resources find them soon exhausted, and the number of the poor and distressed are daily augmenting.

Among the Refugees from Cuba were many free people of Colour;—But all males above the age of fifteen have in pursuance of a Territorial Law been ordered to depart.—This information, you will be pleased, Sir, to use whenever the occasion may require, and it will I hope, tend to discourage free people of color of every description from emigrating to the Territory of Orleans;—we have at this time a much greater proportion of that kind of population than comports with our interests.—

Two vessels arriving here from Sto. Domingo, via Jamaica, with slaves on board have been seized and will experience all the rigour of the Law.—Congress at their last Session, passed "An Act for the remission of certain penalties and forfeitures and for other purposes."—By this Act, the President is vested with authority to remit the penalties in certain cases, which had accrued by the intro-

duction of slaves into the U. States;—But the Honorable the Secretary of State has authorized me to inform our consuls and Commercial Agents that the Provisions of the above mentioned Act embrace only *Emigrants* coming direct from Cuba with their Slaves;—and that those coming from other foreign countries bringing Slaves with them, will be subjected to the penalties of the general Law prohibiting the introduction of Slaves into the U. States.—This information may be useful to the owners and Captains of vessels departing from Jamaica for the U. States, and therefore I wish it communicated to them:—You will recollect that by the Law prohibiting the introduction of Slaves, the vessel introducing them is forfeited and the Captain liable to fine and imprisonment.

From the State of the War in the West Indies and the rapid conquests of the English, it is not improbable but a disposition to emigrate to the U. States may become very general among the French Inhabitants and I have therefore to request that you would be good enough to communicate the contents of this Letter to the Consuls, or other Agents of the U. States residing at Guadaloupe, Martinique and indeed at all the adjacent Islands.—Lieutenant Dexter of the Navy of the U. States, commanding a public vessel dispatched for the purpose, will present you this letter and I must ask the favor of you to acknowledge its receipt.—

I am Sir &c

(Signed) William C. C. Claiborne.

William Savage, Esqr.,
Commercial Agent of
the U. States for the
Island of Jamaica.

McHENRY PAPERS.

Communicated by Bernard C. Steiner, Baltimore, Md.

I. Charles Carroll of Carrollton to McHenry.

[At this time Carroll was a member of the Maryland Senate and McHenry of the Confederation Congress.]

Annapolis 13th March 1785

Dear Sir

I answered your favor of the 7th of last month the 24th & have now to acknowledge & thank you for yours of the 16th.

From what I can collect a great majority of the People in Washington, Frederick, & Baltimore counties are averse to a law for the support of Ministers of the Gospel, and I suspect the other counties are not very hearty for the measure.—

I shall always be glad to hear from you when you can spare time to write to me a few lines, and to inform me of the most material transactions of Congress, Such I mean, as you may be at full liberty to disclose.

I request the favour of you to forward by the first french packet which shall Sail from New York to port Orient the inclosed letter which is directed to a lady of my name, & a distant relative married in France. I would wish the letter to get safe to her hands, as She seems very desirous to hear from me.

I wish you would endeavour to recollect, as nearly as may be the *words* made use of by Mr Stone in debate upon the Lawyers Bill the Sentiment I well remember, and so must

you, was to this effect: that altho the treaty could not or ought not to be infringed, yet a mode might be contrived to evade for a time the payment of british debts.

I am with respect
Dr. Sir
Yr most hum. Servt.
Ch. Carroll of Carrollton.

To The Honorable
James Mc Henry Esquire
in Congress
New York.

II. Broadside printed against McHenry and Coulter.

[As the Federalist candidates, they were returned elected to membership in the Maryland House of Delegates from Baltimore Town in Oct., 1788. The list of names shows what important elements in Baltimore's population were the Scotch and Irish settlers.]

Among the subscribers to the Purse, for defraying the expence of Dr. McHenry and Dr. Coulter's election, against Samuel Chase and David McMechen, Esquires, October, 1788, appear the following gentlemen:

James Sommerville—a Scotchman, and Tobacco Spinner, enrolled and mustered in the Baltimore-town independent company in 1775—refused to subscribe the *association,* flung off his uniform, and went to the British in August, 1777—Was a captain in the *Refugee* corps at the siege of Savanna, and owned a British *privateer* out of Charles-town; he returned to Maryland in 1784; was *naturalised* the same year; captain Sommerville was indicted, and *outlawed* for treason against the state in 1780; he first voted at the last election. Assessed to £100.

William Robb—a *Scotchman*—with the British all the

war, lieutenant to captain James Sommerville, in the *Refugee* corps, at the siege of Savanna. came to Baltimore in 1783; and was naturalised in 1784. Assessed, in company with James Buchanan, to £55.

—Duguid—a Scotchman, partner of captain James Sommerville; was in New-York during the war, came to Maryland last spring, and was naturalised, *since the election*—Not assessed, and is returned to Scotland.

James Buchanan—a Scotchman—lived in North-Carolina before the war, fled to the British on the commencement of hostilities, was concerned in privateers with his brother Thomas, of New-York; and was in the militia of New-York. Naturalised in 1785. Assessed, in company with William Robb, to £55.

Archibald Steward—a *Scotchman,* first came to America (as clerk to Buchanan and Robb) in 1784; was naturalised by judge Hanson, at Baltimore-town, on the *third* day of the election. Assessed to £100.

Robert Riddel—a Scotchman—Factor for a Scotch house in New-York, during the war; came to Maryland in 1783; and was naturalised in 1784. Not assessed.

Archibald Campbell—a *Scotchman*—mustered in 1775 under captain Richard Barnes, of Saint Mary's county, went to Scotland in the fall of 1775. Returned to Maryland in June, 1777; *never naturalised* and is now a British subject. Assessed to £606.

Archibald Moncrief, a *Scotchman,* lived in this state many years; was a Nonjuror, always appeared a neutral, moderate, character. Restored to the privilege of voting by the act of 1786; and first voted at the last election; never took the oath of *allegiance.* Assessed to £716 13 4.

Stephen Wilson, an *Irishman,* came first to Virginia, during the war, in a smuggling cutter; came to reside in Maryland in 1782; was naturalised in 1784. Assessed to £120.

Archibald Robinson, an *Irishman,* came to Maryland in

1783, studied law *since* his arrival was naturalised by judge Hanson, at Baltimore-town, on the *third* day of the election. Not assessed.

Robert Oliver, an *Irishman,* came to Maryland since the war. Naturalised in 1784. *Not a resident* of Baltimore-town. Assessed, in company, to £262 10 0.

Samuel Leggatt,—Hyndman, Irishmen, came to Maryland since the war.—Hyndman resided the last year at Pig-Point, not naturalised; Leggatt was naturalised in 1784. Both assessed to £100.

Gilbert Rigger, Ambrose Clark, Irishmen. Watchmakers. Came to Maryland since the war. Naturalised by judge Hanson, at Baltimore-town, on the *third* day of the election. Bigger assessed to £100, and Clark to £50.

James Ball, a native of New-England. On the evacuation of Boston by the British he went with them to Halifax; came to New-York, and there lived with Coffin and Anderson, British Cloathing agents, during the war; came to Maryland in 1785; was since naturalised, and is now partner with John Heathcote, of *London.* Not assessed.

John Hollins, an Englishman, concerned in privateers out of Liverpool during the war. Came to Maryland since the peace; and was naturalised in 1785; *not a resident* of Baltimore-town; and voted at the last election for delegates for Baltimore county. Assessed to £300.

Q. Can a *British* subject, *by the laws of Great-Britain,* become a subject of *Maryland?*—If a war should happen between Great Britain and the United States, and any of these naturalised persons should bear arms against Great-Britain (as their oath of allegiance would require) would he not be liable, by the laws of Great-Britain, to be convicted and punished as a traitor? The violent attachment of these characters to the new federal government is astonishing. They renounce for ever their country, and alle-

giance to their king, and they give money to support the cause of Federalism!!!

Q. in a CORNER.

Baltimore, 8th December, 1788.

III. Letter from Mrs. Anna McHenry Boyd, daughter of James McHenry, to her brother John.

[The Sulpician fathers had opened St. Marys Seminary in 1791, near the then town of Baltimore and now far within the closely built portion of the city. In 1799, Father Du Bourg opened an academy in connection with the seminary at St. Mary's College and, in 1805, the legislature of Maryland incorporated the Sulpician schools at St. Marys University. The Rev. Mr. Paquiet was a French priest of superior talents, who taught eloquence and natural philosophy at St. Mary's from 1802 to 1812. He had the principal hand in the direction of affairs under Father Du Bourg and was his successor in the office of President (1812-1815). As McHenry was a faithful member of the First Presbyterian Church, his friendship for the Sulpicians is interesting. John McHenry was sent to their seminary for some time. Old Mr. Nagau was doubtless Rev. Father Nagot.]

Baltimore September 2nd. 1809.

Mr. Pacquet called to see us yesterday. He was very well, and said old Mr. Nagau, who has been ill for some time, was better, the other College gentlemen are well, as are also Madames Fournier, Brule, &c. The boys' studies commence anew on Monday, as also a day school which Mr. Dubourg has at length determined on tho' Mr. Pacquet does not at all approve of, or wish it. He says they have yet but very few applications for admission into it, and he imagines the distance from town will be a great impediment to its flourishing.

Your sincerely affectionate sister

Anna Boyd.

Mr. John McHenry.

IV, V, VI. McHenry and the Convention System.

[McHenry continued his interest in the Federalist party after his retirement from office and, in 1811, joined with other prominent Federalists of Baltimore in sending an address to the leading Federalists of the counties to secure united action. It is an interesting forerunner of the Convention System. Two of the answers to the address were preserved among McHenry's papers and are given here. Bosley's letter to Alexander Contee Hanson, another prominent Federalist, shows that the need of money for use at elections is not a new thing.]

Easton, June 1st, 1811.

IV. Gentlemen:

As far as the interruptions of our Court would permit us, in which we have all been occupied in various capacities, we have given a full and meritted attention to the Communication which you did us the Honor to address to us upon the subject of a Conference. You could not have selected a more correct Criterion than your own Ideas of the importance of the approaching Senatorial Election, and your anxiety for the dispersion of Sound Principles, to Judge of Ours; as we have long felt the strongest and most painful apprehensions for the Fate of our Country, from the unfortunate policy and destructive Measures of the late and present administration. So far from considering Your Communication, Gentlemen, as an Act of Officiousness, We acquit You of the imputation instantly upon the suggestion; and assure You we regard it as another Evidence of that active patriotism and Generous Zeal for the best interests for Your Country, which we have always ascribed to You, and for which We have uniformly held You in the highest Respect; and We rely on the Occasion to justify us in this in-

dulgence of so pointed and unequivocal an expression of our Confidence and Opinions.

As the Court of Appeals will commence on the very day of the Proposed Conference, it will be impossible for two of Us, who are practitioners in that Court, to meet You; the other two, although unprepared for an absence from home at this, (to them) particularly critical period of the Year, will make every possible exertion to attend you: But should it unfortunately happen, that none of Us will be enabled to get over, We pray You Gentlemen to believe it to be the effect of Events which we could not controul. If any thing beneficial can be done by means of Correspondence, we shall be happy to lend our aid; and if a statement of the political situation of our Country is desirable, we will give it with all the promptness and fidelity that we are capable of.——— We shall feel extreme anxiety to learn the Report of your proceedings, and we beg the Favor Gentlemen that You will gratify us, with a communication, as early after your Adjournment, as your convenience will permit.

With an earnest prayer that the Happiest Success may attend your exertions for the deliverance of our Common Country,

We are Gentlemen with great Respect and Regard
Your very hble Servts

Robt. H. Y. Goldsborough
John Goldsborough
John Leeds Keer
Hy: Hollyday

Messrs. Robt. G. Harper—James McHenry—C. Ridgly of Hptn. John E. Howard—James Hindman—Walter Dorsey Sl Sterrett.

V. Gentlemen:

The last mail put us in possession of your joint address: we are much gratified in its object and most cheerfully will

concur in any measures that may be agreed on essential to the interest of our friends throughout the State. Detesting from our souls the execrable policy of the administration, believing the enlightened wisdom of the states on a radical change in their legislatures can speedily correct those destructive passions cherished for the vilest internal party purposes, particularly when the *head* of the nation, considers himself at the *head* of a party, so adverse to the true interest, and so alarming to the safety of the nation; believing as we do: those are sufficient inducements to rouse every honest man to a noble exertion of his intellectual energies, to stem the torrent of popular delusion and commercial oppression! we cannot doubt of success.

Your communication Gentlemen has met with our warmest applause; for certainly no sentiment is more imposing than that which is contained in a paragraph of your letter the "Critical posture of our foreign affairs, the embarrassments brought on our trade by extraordinary restrictions, and mysterious proceedings of the general government, call for a system that shall unite several exertions, and infuse into our state legislature a new spirit"—We feel a conviction strengthened by these facts that without efficacious arrangements throughout the state, the beneficial change contemplated may not be accomplished—and it is the more pleasing when we see it encouraged and aided by the respectable names—subjoined to the letter; and they too at the seat of early information, on important events, may be able auxiliaries to, those more remotely situated; under such auspicious circumstances we do hope the federalists generally will be spirited up to great exertions throughout the state; should any strong hand bills be prepared (written in plain language to reach the understanding of the weakest peasant) during the summer months; stating in emphatic and

plain terms our distresses; specifically enumerating the particular instances, and descriptive of the advocates of them, we shall be glad to receive some—our country continues remarkable for its steady habits and correct principles; a general exertion we hope will be made to stimulate the voters to actions for nothing else is wanting here—we are not sensible of any service resulting from our attendance on the ——— of June—but the contrary would be the effect with us, should it transpire—permit us to add that we shall be always open to any communication you may think proper to make—The federal electoral candidates; are Raphael Neale and John R. Plater, we know not as yet of any opposition—we are gentlemen with great Respect

Yrs. &c. &c.
J. R. Plater
James Hopewell (In behalf of the other
Raphael Neale gentlemen)

Leod. Town—
June—3d, 1811.
St. Marys.
James McHenry Esquire
Baltimore

Baltimore County, 23 July, 1811.

VI. Alex C. Hansone Esq

We received the fifty dollars and it is absolutely necessary that we should have one hundred and fifty more which can be disposed of to great advantage every thing is going on well in the County and with proper exertions we must succeed———

Yours
Resty
Nich's M. Bosley.

VII. PAQUIET TO MCHENRY.

[Paquiet had just retired from the Presidency of St. Mary's University.]

City hostel, Annapolis, Anna Arundel Cty Sept 1st 1815

Dear Sir and Venerable friend

After a pleasant passage of a few hours, I arrived at this place, where I found a situation perfectly suitable to the present state of my mind. This Capital of Maryland is little more than a decaying city which still preserves some marks of a former splendor, intermingled with huts which rather seem to entitle it to the denomination of village. The repose and silence which prevail around me form a striking contrast with the noise and bustle of Baltimore. To a man of business the change would appear gloomy and unsufferable; but to me it is delightful. I took my lodging at a large inn, which partakes of the fate of the town; i. e. its walls inclose a vast solitude where I am lost with five other strangers scattered in the several parts of this uninhabited mansion. They gave me one of the best apartments in the hostel, and in every point which concerns bodily wants I am as well accommodated as I may wish. Here I enjoy myself pretty much like an owl in the corner of an old building, having no communication—with the rest of nature, except when hunger forces me out of my retreat. This way of living is so congenial to my present disposition, that I refused to change it for another which was offered to me since I have been here: I would not even accept an invitation to dine or drink in town. By this conduct I should, no doubt, bring upon me the character of an unsociable being; but I had rather be deemed so at a distance, than really show myself so in company, by a countenance which would exhibit the melancholy of my thoughts.

You know too much of my feelings, my dear friend, that I may stand in need of describing to you the distressed sor-

row which overwhelms me in this occurrence. An event which I should consider as my relief from a long and severe trial appears to me in the light of a misfortune; and I am much more painfully affected with its consequences, than pleased with the resuming of my liberty. One of those consequences which especially rend my heart is my parting with you and your respected family, whose kind regard to me has been for a number of years the only enjoyment which alleviated my labours. Accept together with them my hearty thanks for the benevolence with which you have honoured me; and believe that, to whatever distance I may be removed, I shall ever preserve the remembrance of it, as one of the most flattering, the most relished favours I ever received in my life.

Deeply impressed with these Sentiments and
the most affectionate respect, I remain
Dear Sir and Venerable Friend
Your most obedient Servant
Paquiet.

James Mc Henry Esq
Fredericktown road
Baltimore.

Reviews.

New Voyages to North America. By the Baron de Lahontan. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1905. 2 V. O., pp. xciii+I to 407+vi+1 l.+411 to 797, maps and plates.

This edition of Lahontan's *Voyages* is reproduced from the English edition of 1703, which contains much material not found in the contemporary French editions. Facsimile title pages of the 1703 edition are shown, but the present is not a facsimile nor a page for page reproduction, although the essential typographical features of the earlier edition are shown and its pagination is indicated in brackets.

The introduction and notes, of which there are many appearing as footnotes throughout the volumes and showing great learning and scholarship, are by the editor. The introduction deals very largely with the personal side of the stormy life of Lahontan. Dr. Thwaites is inclined to put a higher estimate on the historical value of Lahontan than scholars have been wont to do: "The frequent neglect of Lahontan by scientific and historical students has not been justified by the lack of material in his pages. As already intimated, it is in large measure due to the spurious character of the alleged discovery of the River Long." Following M. Edmond Roy, Dr. Thwaites believes Lahontan thought "he must, in order to secure patronage and readers, pose as a discoverer, and imitate the achievements of Marquette and La Salle." Lahontan was by nature an investigator and critic; his work is full of evidences of revolt against the established order; he was a generation ahead of his times and a precursor of some of the great thinkers of revolutionary France.

Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits furnishes an extended biblio-

graphy of Lahontan. In his preliminary paragraphs he bewails the numerous bibliographical errors "perpetuated by the shirking of independent research." The bibliography here presented has been made from the books themselves, for in this way only can such work be made definitive. Mr. Paltsits has advanced a long step forward in the matter of bibliographical fulness and accuracy by making what he terms an "anatomical bibliography;" not only are full titles given with uprights, but there is an analysis of each volume by its component parts, by its pagination, by its signatures, and by the location of its plates and maps. In discussing this phase of his work Mr. Paltsits truly says: "Only by such means can the librarian, scholar or collector ascertain whether his books are perfect, or wherein they lack completeness. The mere lumping of pagination or plates falls far short of usefulness; it is, indeed, a source of irritation and annoyance"—a dictum with which all students who have to do with books as books will most heartily agree. Mr. Paltsits has emphasized a much needed and highly valuable reform in bibliographical writings. There is an extensive index.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS HART BENTON. By Wm. M. Meigs. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1904. O., pp. 535, 3 ports., 1 ill., index, cloth, $2 net.

This volume is a popular life of the Missouri Senator based on the records of Congress and on the recollections and reminiscences of men of his day. Few letters of Benton's appear for he does not seem to have been a voluminous letter writer, but his speeches in the Senate and his Thirty Years' View are constantly drawn on for materials.

The biographer writes in sympathy with but not in slavish admiration of his subject, the chapter on General Tendencies being particularly well presented, and showing Benton to have been in his public character strong but unattractive,

terrible in debate, fierce in attack, proud, egotistic, intolerable, harsh and unlovable; his home life was the opposite of all this. As Benton himself said, he was a lamb in the home, a lion on the outside.

In treating the many important subjects considered by Benton, Mr. Meigs has been able to preserve a fair and just balance between opposite views, and unlike many other biographers holds himself aloof from partisanship, noticeably in discussing slavery and the position of Calhoun, the greatest and most bitter of Benton's opponents, for Benton, while calling himself southern and siding with the South in the earlier years of the inevitable conflict, was first of all a Unionist. He possessed in an extraordinary degree an ability to read the future. He could interpret the thoughts, wishes and feelings of the masses, and in this way secured a strong hold on their affections despite his repelling personality. It was he who first of all pointed out the possibilities of a vast commerce with the Orient: "There is the East, there is India."

History of the Library of Congress. Vol. 1, 1800-1864. By William Dawson Johnston. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904. O., pp. 535. 29 plates of ills., ports. and fac similes.

The above volume is the first of a series of contributions to American Library History projected and published by the Library of Congress and designed to cover all the United States. The series begins properly with the Library of Congress, the present volume bringing that history down to 1864. Another volume will bring it down to the present, and a third will deal with the history of other government libraries. Dr. B. C. Steiner has prepared a volume for Maryland, and Charles K. Bolton one on Boston. Dr. H. E. Legler has undertaken Wisconsin; Mr. Wm. Beer, Louisiana; Mr. F. J. Teggart, California. Volumes have

also been promised for New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and North Carolina. The series will be under the editorial supervision of Mr. W. Dawson Johnston, of the Library of Congress.

To the educated foreigner who studies the rapid advance in material prosperity of the United States, it must be a source of astonishment and wonder that we have made so little advance towards gathering together the original materials for the history of our development. Even to-day we have nothing that is called in name a National Library. Our greatest collection is merely the Library of Congress—a library not of the Nation, but of the Nation's lawmakers. It is only within the last generation that the Library of Congress has entered on a course of extensive development and only within the last ten years that its accumulations have become accessible. While in the Capitol the books were practically useless to many students, especially if they were employed elsewhere during the official day. The remembrance of the writer is very vivid on that point. When Congress was not in session the Library was useless, for he was employed elsewhere during its hours for opening; when Congress was in session and happened not to adjourn by four o'clock, he had a small chance for study. But after reaching the still open doors of the Library room he usually found three difficulties confronting him: (1) Most frequently the book wanted was not in the Library; (2) if in the Library because of the crowded condition it could not be found; (3) if found it was usually stored away within the inner sancta sanctorum of the sour-visaged librarian, was under lock and key, and so was not to be trusted to the profane hands of a student. This was the condition of affairs that obtained till the new library building was occupied in 1897. Since then, with more spacious quarters, an enlightened librarian and a greater fund for the purchase of books, the pathway of the student is an easier one. But still the student

of local American historical literature—to cite but a single field in which the Library of Congress should be particularly strong—is more likely to suffer from a dearth of materials than from an abundance of riches.

What such a student lacked fifty or seventy-five years ago is all too painfully manifest in the volume in hand. In fact this period of the life of the Library of Congress seems of value mainly in showing "how not to do it." We are shown here a shameful record of ignorance, indifference and incompetence, a volume of recorded failures from glowing plans of what might have been done had the library spirit been in Congress. The purchase of books was largely if not entirely in the hands of the Library Committee of the two Houses of Congress, the available funds were small and far from sufficient, there was no general supervising head in the larger sense, no directing spirit which had the institution always in mind, knew its needs and studied the same; now the library would lean to science, now it would flop to history; it was always a place for loafers and elegant idlers, picture books and illustrated works were in demand to please the children and entertain the gallants of the city. Many learned Congressmen argued laboriously that a collection of 50,000 volumes was enough for all time and were exceedingly solicitous that all "trash" should be excluded; three times the Library was partly destroyed by fire; the opportunity for founding a great and truly National Library offered by the disposition of the Smithson bequest was rejected and the chance to buy a great library rich in European classics like that of Count Buterlin was rejected largely because they were in a foreign language! The institution was the football of politics, the plaything of politicians, and up to a few years ago the janitor received a bigger salary than the assistant librarian!

In the present volume Mr. Johnston goes into the legislative history of the Library in great detail, presenting many

of the speeches delivered for and against its development in Congress, discussing its housing, its arrangement and catalogues, its expansion and growth. He concludes with an illuminating chapter on the Smithsonian Institution and plans for a National Library in which Rufus Choate and George P. Marsh, then Senators in Congress, Henry Stevens of Vermont, Professor Jewett, then Librarian of the Smithsonian and the North American Review, took a leading part. But the time was not yet and the net result of the agitation was that Professor Jewett lost his position in the Smithsonian.

As a piece of bookmaking, both from the standpoint of the printer and the scholar, this very interesting volume leaves little to be desired.

NARRATIVE OF THE CAREER OF HERNANDO DESOTO. Edited by Edward Gaylord Bourne. 2 V. D., pp., xxvii+223, 192. Cloth, $1.00 per volume, net.

The latest number in the very handy Trailmaker Series deals with the career of the first explorer of the South. Professor Bourne prints the Relation of the Gentleman of Elvas, a contemporary account by a Portuguese knight, first printed in 1557, and which first appeared in English dress in 1609 under the title Virginia Richly Valued. In the present edition the translation of Buckingham Smith is used, as is also the case with deBiedma's narrative which follows. This account is of great value as it is strictly a contemporary document, having been drawn up as an official report in 1544, although never published till the days of Ternaux-Compans, 1841, and then in a French edition. But more important still is the account of this expedition found in Oviedo's *Historia General y Natural de las Indias,* based on the Diary of Rodrigo Ranjel, the secretary of DeSoto. This narrative is here extracted from Oviedo's more extensive work and presented for the first time in English dress in what may be

considered practically its original form, the translation being by Professor Bourne.

These three documents, together with DeSoto's letter to the justices, and a few short items, make up the authentic contemporary documents dealing with the expedition; for Professor Bourne rejects the account of Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca,* as romance rather than history, and at that not produced till nearly fifty years after the events it describes.

The volumes are enriched with a portrait of DeSoto and several maps. The editing is carefully done, the notes and the introduction are illuminating, the format is handy and the type is clear, but as usual there is no index.

EIGHTY YEARS OF UNION, being a Short History of the United States, 1783-1865. By James Schouler. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1903. O., pp. xiv+416. Cloth, $1.75.

This book was prepared at the request of eminent educators. It is not an abridgment or condensation of Mr. Schouler's larger work, but is made up of a series of selections from the work, "so that the reader may have before him a consecutive narrative, in the historian's own words and original expression."

The advantage of such a treatment is obvious. A connected narrative of the first eighty years of national life is furnished the reader, who may have little time at his disposal and a large share of the literary style of the more extensive work is preserved. And this, it should be remembered, is a characteristic not often found in books on American history and least of all in compends.

It shows also the disadvantages to be expected in volumes made up in this way. There is a sudden and perhaps abrupt turning from one subject to another. Contemporary events are strung out side by side with no connecting links; there

is little introduction to the events themselves and few particulars, but much philosophical insight, a wealth of literary style and as much freedom from partisan rancor as can be expected in a writer of this generation. There is an index.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, No. 12, 1904, pp. 205.

Contents: 1. Report of Twelfth Annual Meeting, 5 pp.

2. Address of the President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, 3 pp.

3. The Inquisition in Peru, by Elkan N. Adler, 33 pp., an interesting addition to the endless Jewish literature of the Inquisition.

4. The Jews of South Carolina from the earliest settlement to the end of the American Revolution, by Leon Huehner, A. M., LL. B., 23 pp., purports to be a paper read by the author before the Society in 1899. Mr. Huehner's work on the Jews of South Carolina has been far from brilliant. Space will only permit a few references to the inexcusable mistakes with which the paper teems. The Hebrew Benevolent Society was not established in 1750, but in 1784 (p. 44). Abraham Alexander was not minister from 1765-90; he resigned in 1784. (*The Occident*, 1, p. 339). Lushington's company of Jews will hardly be accepted to-day, save as a myth, except by the American Jewish Historical Society, in spite of Mr. Huehner's second-hand and worthless references. In the signers of the "Petitions to Lincoln," Is[aac] Da Costa, Jr., appears as "Js." Mr. H. does not seem to be able to read old script, however plain. The Hebrew signature of "Joseph" is not copied as it is in the original, which the writer claims to have seen. Who is Joseph M——? and why is he a *Jewish* signer? and Jacob Henry? and what use is there in enumerating "pronouncedly Jewish names" when the individuals mentioned are well known to competent historical workers—Jacob Valk, Mark Morris, and Philip Hart?

The two former are not Jews, and Philip Hart ought to have been known to a historian of Mr. H's magnitude, as one of the officials of the Synagogue in Charleston in 1750. [*The Occident,* 1, p. 337]. Christopher Gadsden studied Hebrew while a prisoner at St. Augustine. This is not romantic enough. Mr. H. volunteers the further information that "it is more than likely that the general's teachers were Jewish fellow prisoners." Unfortunately for our brilliant historian, the lists of prisoners to St. Augustine are readily available and there was not a Jew among them. It is worthy of note, however, that long before the Revolution, Hebrew formed part of the regular curriculum of the schools in Charleston. On p. 55, the reference to "Major Moses' Command," is a manifest copyist's mistake for Major Morris. Mr. H. is thus not the only historian who has been able to read reading, while he has been somewhat shaky in reading writing. On the same page, we have some more "decidedly Jewish names," including Samuel Ash and Philip Meyer, both well-known *Christian* citizens of Charleston. On p. 57, Mr. Huehner makes a blunder that is really amusing. In a previous article, he referred to a regiment of Jews in the Revolution and to the "remarkable fact" that these were nearly all officers! In his present article he only tries to show that many Jews served as officers, and he does this by reference to the pension rolls for South Carolina, which show 1 lieutenant (who served in Georgia while a resident of that State), 2 sergeants and S[arah] Cardozo—we spell out the name for Mr. H's benefit—when he writes again, he will now have authority for a company of Jewish Amazons—all officers. Had he read the Cantwell note-book in the Lenox Library, which he thinks has escaped notice heretofore, intelligently, he could hardly have made this mistake. There is much irrelevant matter in the article. Why space should have been wasted upon the oft reprinted letter of the Jews of Charleston to Washington in 1790, we cannot

imagine. Mr. Huehner tells us that "it is but reasonable to suppose that this was acknowledged by Washington." Inasmuch as the reply is printed in the Charleston *Year Book* for 1884, pp. 280-1, Washington's good manners are fortunately no longer a matter of doubt. We have said enough though we could say much more. It would not be a bad thing for history were Mr. Huehner to leave it severely alone. Such writing, stamped as quasi-authoritative by reason of its being published under the auspices of the American Jewish Historical Society, of which Mr. Huehner is the fortunate curator, is an unmitigated nuisance and cannot be too strongly condemned.

5. Judah P. Benjamin: Statesman and Jurist, by Max J. Kohler, A. M., LL. B., 23 pp., an interesting study. It is not a little remarkable that Mr. Kohler, who is at the present time the leading worker in the field of American Jewish history, should accept as a fact the preposterous statement of a German Jewish traveller, to the effect that in 1842 the city of New Orleans has about 700 Jewish families, of whom only four kept a Kosher table and only two observed Saturday as Sabbath. (pp. 68-9.)

6. Calendar of American Jewish Cases, by Albert M. Friedenberg, B. S., LL. B., 13 pp., a continuation of the author's papers in Nos. 10 and 11 of the *Publications.*

7. The Jews in Boston till 1875, by Joseph Lebowitch, 12 pp., a valuable contribution on the subject.

8. A History of the Jews of Mobile, by Alfred G. Moses, 13 pp., a good preliminary sketch.

9. A Jewish Army Chaplain, by Meyer S. Isaacs, 11 pp., a sketch of the Rev. Dr. Arnold Fischel—the first Jewish army chaplain in America.

10. The Development of Jewish Casuistic Literature in America, by J. B. Eisenstein, 9 pp., a plea for the collection of casuistic works by the Society in view of the fact that such works often contain valuable historical information.

11. Jewish Heretics in the Philippines in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, by G. A. Kohut, 8 pp., a further paper supplementing the author's numerous contributions to Jewish Inquisition literature.

12. Outline of a Plea to Gather Statistics concerning the Jews of the United States, by Wm. B. Hackenburg, 5 pp.

13. Notes, Necrology, etc., 21 pp. B. A. Elzas, Charleston, S. C.

History of the Confederate Memorial Associations of the South. By the Confederate Southern Memorial Association. Pp. 318. 9¼x5⅞ inches. New Orleans: The Graham Press. 1904.

The women of the South who have been so devoted to the memory of the "Lost Cause" have very fittingly erected a monument to their labors in the publication of this volume composed of sketches of the organization and efforts of some seventy local memorial associations, contributed by some officer or member. Usually we have an account of the first steps taken and then a sketch of the chief work accomplished. In many cases the most of strength has been devoted to the building of a monument and it is a remarkable testimony to the tenderness and sympathy of these women that the defeated section has been able to rear so many testimonials to the valor of the soldiers. The entire volume will be for all time one of the chief sources for the historian who seeks to trace the influence of that mighty struggle upon the descendants of those who fought.

The History of the Medical Department of Transylvania University (Filson Club Publications Number Twenty). By Dr. Robert Peter. Pp xi, 193. 12½x9 11-16 inches. Kentucky: John P. Morton & Co. 1905.

This volume is really a series of brief biographies of perhaps all the professors of this medical school, prepared by one of the number who was connected with the institution

from 1833 to its close. Hence, it is largely reminiscences of his colleagues, told in the simplest and most attractive manner, necessarily omitting many vital dates, such as birth for instance, since he performed this labor in his old age when it was difficult to get many of the facts. Besides his personal estimates of these men there are often lists of their writings. The manuscript was prepared for publication by Mrs. Johanna Peter, the author's daughter, who has been to considerable trouble in adding important data chiefly in the shape of footnote references. As usual with the Filson Club, the work is a typographical jewel, especially good are the illustrations.

Lee and Longstreet at High Tide. Gettysburg in the Light of Official Records. By Helen D. Longstreet. Illustrated. Pp. 346. Published by the Author. Gainsville, Ga. 1904.

The volume under review has been published by Mrs. Longstreet as a memorial to her husband. General Sickles of the United States Army writes an introduction. Of the five divisions of the book, the first is devoted to a refutation of the charges of Gordon, Pendleton, and others, that Longstreet was slow and obstructive at Gettysburg. In part two, we are given an appreciation of Longstreet the man which is very interesting. His course during the Reconstruction when he stood absolutely alone and persecuted is sympathetically explained. Few people who knew Longstreet ever doubted and no one now doubts that he was influenced by any but the highest motives in his political career since the war. It is easy to see how a man of Longstreet's training and temperament would choose the course he chose; it is also clear that what was possible for him was impossible for most others.

Part three is an account of Longstreet's career in Mexico and is based on a manuscript history of the Mexican War

prepared by the General shortly before his death. The next division is a sketch of his military career before and after Gettysburg. No material that Mrs. Longstreet can gather is necessary to prove that the General was of all the lieutenants of Lee the hardest and heaviest fighter—Lee's "War Horse." The tributes from the press, from individuals, from associations of Confederate Veterans and their sons and daughters printed in the appendix prove conclusively that the love of the Southern people had again been given to him without reserve.

The book adds much to our knowledge of Longstreet the man, nothing to our knowledge of his military ability—that was already proven.

THE LEGENDS OF THE IROQUOIS. Told by Cornplanter. From authoritative Notes and Studies. By William W. Canfield. Cloth, Octavo, pp. 219. Price $1.50. New York: A. Wessels Co. 1902.

THE LEGENDS OF THE IROQUOIS forms the third volume in a series of "Source Books of American History." The Indians had no written records, only picture writings or wampum. Consequently the legends that were told and retold from generation to generation afford a better insight into the Indian character, a better knowledge of Indian ideals and religion, than the mere symbols. The stories here collected were told a hundred years ago by Cornplanter, a Seneca chief, to a white friend who made notes of them. Mr. Canfield has taken these notes and, assisted by some of the still living Indians in New York, has undertaken to restore the legends, as near as may be, to their original form.

The contents of the volume comprise an essay on Indian legends, a history of the collection here given, a collection of legends and bits of folk-lore, a paper on the religion of the Iroquois, an account of the Sacred Stone of the Oneidas, and copious notes explanatory. These legends were the

sacred stories of the Iroquois and bear a marked resemblance to the sacred myths of the old world. The powers of nature were objects of veneration, and natural objects are traced to a divine origin. The animal stories are similar to the negro fables preserved by "Uncle Remus." The river legends, the stories of the winds, flowers, and other plants remind one of Greek and Oriental nature myths. The origin of the Iroquois Confederacy is explained by a legend very like the Roman story of the Rape of the Sabine Women. In the Indian religion, as in nearly all others, there was the story of Paradise and the Fall. The Hiawatha legend here related is certainly much more satisfactory than Longfellow's Norwegian parody. In the Indian mythology there is more of human love than in the negro legends, and much less of the fleshly than in those of Greece and Rome. Mr. Canfield has related these sacred stories of the Indians in plain and simple language; the collection ought to be accessible in every American school.

WALTER L. FLEMING.

West Virginia University.

WHAT IS HISTORY. By Karl Lamprecht, Ph. D., LL. D. Pp. viii, 227. 7¾x5 inches. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905.

Given a man with a natural tendency to dream, segregate him in a learned institution from the daily life about him, supply him with printer's ink, and we have all the conditions for producing a book filled with the very refinements of speculation. Such is this volume, a mass of fog floating around in which the average eye can every now and then see something in vaporous outline that he thinks he may recognize if the mist should clear away a little more, which it never does.

Apparently there may be a central theme for this work. If we may judge from the following string of expressions

our author perhaps accepts the view of a racial character and seeks to unify national development on this ethnic principle: "An ego," "individual psychic," "psychic motor," "dominating social psyche," "mass-psychic," "psychic dominant," "collective psychic products," "the psyche of the hero," "potentiality of the human psyche," "inner psychic mechanism," "socio-psychological," "socio psychic mechanism." Nowhere does he descend from cloudland to natural conditions on earth. Scattered through the pages are the words "science" and "scientific" as applied to history, but he does not give the faintest gleam of realizing what a mockery is made of these terms for describing such a subject as history.

All in all it is a sad waste of intellectual energy dissipated in meditative abstractions, another addition to the long line of cobwebs spun by the philosophers. If Professor Lamprecht had been forced to take the medicine that Lewes would have prescribed for the metaphysical theorizers he would have condensed his output by three-fourths. Lewes declared that if those hazy writers had been made to use language that the ordinary man could understand they would never have written more than a fraction of what they did write as they would have discovered that the most of their utterances were simply discussions and repetitions of their own terminology. Professor Lamprecht, after taking his dose, would have cut out everything except the portion on the importance of the artistic side of history. Even that is veiled under indefinite and awkward constructions. The English used in the translation is unidiomatic and abominably bad.

Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia. By John Herbert Claiborne, M. A., M. D. New York and Washington. The Neale Publishing Company. 1904. Pp. 360. $2.00 net.

During the past year two Virginians came before the world with a fine collection of those things which it has been pleasant to remember in after years. True, many bitter experiences have been related by Mrs. Pryor and by Dr. Claiborne, but much of the bitterness has been lost with the passage of years. Dr. Claiborne's book owes its inception to the preparation of an article on the "Changes in the Sociology of Old Virginia During the Last Half of the Last Century" to be read before the National Sociological Society of America. The first chapter deals with the author's boyhood, his school and college days, and his first experience as a practitioner in Petersburg. The second describes the city of his adoption in its business, professional, and social aspects, with a few comparisons between the municipal government then and now not altogether favorable to the latter. The "Politics of the Ante-Bellum Period" is concerned mainly with those smaller affairs of local and State moment of which the author was a great part. As a matter of course the war and the following events receive the greater share of attention. What man who saw service in Virginia could write a dull narrative of his own experiences? The tragic surrender and return also afford ample material for the pen and brush. The author pays his respects to the military government following the war in a complimentary way, but can find nothing good to say of the carpet-bag regime. After giving statistics collected by Senator Voorhees between 1865 and 1872, he closes with a quotation from the Senator to the effect that the frogs, the darkness, the lice, and locusts bestowed more blessings upon Egypt than did the carpet-baggers and scalawags upon the South.

D. Y. Thomas.

State University, Lake City, Fla.

Some Neglected History of North Carolina being an account of the Revolution, of the Regulators and of the

battle of Alamance, the first battle of the American Revolution. By William Edwards Fitch, M. D. New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company. 1905. O., pp. 307, with index, 1 map, 1 port., 9 illus., all insets, cloth, $2.00.

Dr. Fitch is unfortunate in his title. The Regulation war and the battle of Alamance are so far from being "neglected" that with the single exception of the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence, and possibly that of the battle of Guilford Court House, no other event in North Carolina history is so well known. Certainly there is no other event on which there is so much trustworthy contemporary evidence, and no other event on which so much has been written in recent years not even making the exceptions on this point just noted above. The trouble is with Dr. Fitch. He does not know the literature of his subject. He goes over ground that has been traversed in recent years by other men abler than he. He knows something of the older writers on this subject, Hawks, Swain, Graham, Caruthers, of the more recent and more scientific writers, Waddell, Bassett, Haywood, he apparently knows nothing. He reprints many well known and easily accessible documents, is an enthusiastic admirer of the Regulators and holds that their struggle was the real beginning of the Revolution but to the elucidation of the matters in dispute he adds nothing.

Holston Methodism: From its origin to the present time. By Rev. R. N. Price. Vol. 1. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South. 1904. O., pp. xv, 437, index, cloth, $1.25.

The Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, covers a very irregular and mountainous section of country. It is said that from the top of Mt. Mitchell in North Carolina one can on clear days look down into six States. It has been so with Holston Methodism, enter-

ing Appalachian America with the advent of the first white settlers, practically she has enlarged her borders till she has from time to time controlled and directed the churches from southern West Virginia to northern Georgia, and from eastern North Carolina to middle Tennessee. The conference is now confined to the mountainous sections of Virginia and Tennessee.

Dr. Price's book is not written after the fashion nor in the spirit of modern historical research. There is no statement of the sources from which his materials are drawn. The reader may gather that the principal ones are the minutes of the annual and general conferences, the journals and biographies of such men as Asbury, Wm. Patton, Samuel Patton, Thomas Ware, the newspaper reminiscences of many later laborers in the field recounting the history of the church as it had come down in oral tradition from the elders and the later compilations on the history of the denomination in the neighboring States. With the exception of the books first mentioned it does not appear that the author has been able to depend to any great extent on primary sources and yet he has no doubt used all that are known to exist. His book is arranged strictly chronologically and there are many biographical sketches of the Methodist pioneers scattered throughout the text. He has, as he says, attempted to make the book a compromise between a racy story and an authority on historical questions. As a result of this compromise the book is hard reading and because of its arrangement leaves but a bleared impression. It is a chronicle of the deeds of men who took their lives in their hands to preach the gospel and from whose pages may be drawn inspiration for others in the same field. Volume 1 comes down no later than 1804. It is the purpose of Dr. Price, if the first volume is a financial success, to continue the history in three or more volumes.

The *Report* of the American Historical Association for 1903 appears as usual in two volumes. Volume I is made up of the shorter papers presented at the New Orleans meeting. It includes Prof. W. M. Sloane's World Aspect of the Louisiana Purchase; The Aaron Burr Conspiracy at New Orleans, by Walter F. McCaleb and an extended article on the Spanish Archives and their Importance on the History of the United States, by William R. Shepherd. The chief of these archives are found at Simancas, the Archives of the Indies in Seville and in Madrid. Those in Simancas and Seville are stored in mediaeval buildings, all are indifferently arranged and poorly indexed, but students are allowed the fullest and freest access to these almost unknown and generally unexploited treasures. Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg discusses the American Colonial Charter; General A. W. Greely prints a supplement of 60 pages to his Public Documents of the first fourteen congresses and there are reports on the Public Archives of Georgia, by Dr. Ulrich B. Phillips (36 pp.); of Mississippi, by Dr. F. L. Riley (4 pp.); of Virginia, by William G. Stanard (20 pp.); also of Colorado and New Jersey.

Volume II is devoted entirely to the correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791-1797, edited by Professor Frederick J. Turner.

Miss Bettie Freshwater Pool, of Elizabeth City, N. C., has published *The Eyrie and other Southern Stories* (New York, 1905. D., pp. 108, $1.00, cloth). It contains a half-tone portrait of Theodosia Burr Alston, the only child of Aaron Burr who is supposed to have been captured by pirates on the North Carolina coast in 1812 and made to walk the plank, with an account of the portrait so far as known. Some of the stories are in negro dialect; they are full of local color of eastern North Carolina and are remarkably good specimens of the language actually spoken

by the negro. They are as far removed from what generally passes in story books for dialect as light is from darkness. There are also some poems by Miss Pool, and a story, The Monstrosity, by Gaston Pool.

North Carolina and Virginia have had a number of friendly quarrels over the deeds of their respective soldiery in the Civil War. North Carolina has put on the binding of her recently published *History of North Carolina Regiments* the proud claim "First at Bethel, farthest to the front at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, last at Appomattox." These claims have been questioned by the Virginians. Last year the History Committee of the Grand Camp, Confederate Veterans, through Judge George L. Christian, published a pamphlet on *North Carolina and Virginia in the Civil War* in which these claims were combatted. The North Carolinians, through Judge Clark and other members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Society now return to the attack with *Five Points in the Record of North Carolina in the Great War of 1861-5.* Their original claims are reiterated and reinforced by maps and plans. The discussion is conducted on both sides in admirable spirit.

The North Carolina *Booklet* for July is the first issue of the quarterly series. It is now an octavo and makes a much more creditable appearance. The present number contains: The Genesis of Wake County, My Marshall DeLancey Haywood; St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C., and its associations, with some account of the beginnings of the Civil War in Chowan County, by Dr. Richard Dillard; and a sketch of William Hooper, the signer, by A. M. Hooper, first printed in the Hillsboro Recorder for 1822 and the basis of all subsequent sketches. There is also a genealogy of the Hooper family, three portraits of Hoopers and various illustrations.

Rev. R. H. Whitaker, of Raliegh, N. C., has gathered and printed in a volume of *Reminiscences, Incidents and Anecdotes* a series of letters which he has contributed for the last two years to the Raleigh, N. C., News and Observer. They deal with men and events in and around Raleigh for the last sixty years and while too fragmentary to be of much service as history will be of service in giving local color.

The *American Historical Review* for January prints a preliminary report by Prof. Charles M. Andrews on Materials in British Archives for American Colonial History. These are contained principally in the Bodleian, the British Museum, the Privy Council Office, the Royal Institution and the Public Record Office. While extensive investigations have already been made into the extent and character of these documents the present report conveys a graphic idea of the great number and possible value of the mass of materials yet untouched. The April number prints a number of original documents connected with the Blount conspiracy, 1795-7.

A burst of cheering sunshine is the optimism running through the pages of the "Proceedings of the conference for education in the South," seventh session held at Birmingham, Alabama, April 26-28, 1904 (boards, Pp., 183). This organization under the chairmanship of Mr. Robert C. Ogden, of New York City, holds annual meetings in the South for the purpose of arousing greater interest in the general cause of education, chiefly for the mass of people and not for the teaching profession as a body, hence the most of these addresses, delivered by both northern and southern men deal with the subject in its broader aspects and only slightly touch upon the purely technical side. The gatherings are confined almost entirely to inspiring talks,

very little business being transacted further than the election of officers, though some years an appropriation of small amounts is made from a fund for the stimulation of effort in certain localities. On this occasion there were more than a score of formal public utterances, nearly all very hopeful in tone, some even extravagantly enthusiastic. Among some of the more solid deliverances may be mentioned those by C. D. McIver, H. B. Frissell, C. A. Smith, J. B. Henneman and S. J. Bowie, though all are on a high plane and very interesting to any student of southern conditions.

The Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., have at last got headed in the right direction that all such organizations should follow, namely, the path of original material. Nearly half of their volume eight (cloth, pages 209, 1905, 8vo), is given up to the reprinting of rare publications bearing on the District of Columbia. There are Observations on the river Potomac by Tobias Lear, Washington's secretary; Inquiries bearing on the question of Congressional legislation for the district, originally issued about 1800; and then Observations on the intended canal in Washington by Thomas Law which first saw the light about 1804. The remainder of this volume contains four formal papers; the early financial institutions of Washington by Charles E. Howe, the beginnings of Presbyterian church here by W. E. Bryan, early Methodism by W. M. Ferguson, and Jefferson's relations with newspapers by W. C. Ford. Of these Bryan's is the most scientific in form as he checks himself with footnotes but all the others make rather full references in the text. Besides association matter proper there are two appreciative and accurate sketchs of Marcus Baker, born September 3, 1849, died December 12, 1903. The society reports nearly three hundred members, having held six meetings during the year.

The Huguenot Society of South Carolina have issued for 1905 number twelve of their *Transactions.* This pamphlet of sixty-four pages contains not only the minutes and other formal data of the organization but also a rather long paper on Huguenot immigration into South Carolina composed pretty largely of original material. There is also reprinted from the London Society Proceedings a narrative of three brothers Du Foussat, who lived in France about 1700. Several letters with translations are given. The series of Huguenot wills of South Carolina is continued under the editorial hand of Rev. R. Wilson. It is gratifying to know that the membership amounts to nearly 300.

In a pamphlet of ninety pages Adj. Gen. William E. Mickle gives a very thorough, detailed account of the thirteenth annual reunion of the United Confederate Veterans, New Orleans, La., May 19-21, 1903. These minutes contain not only the formal acts of the organization but also several of the more important addresses in full.

The historical portion of the Charleston *Year Book* for 1904 consists of two biographical sketches, Gen. Edward McCrady by his brother Louis de B. and James S. Gibbes and the gallery founded by him (pages 43-85 of the appendix).

Hon. S. Pasco delivered a very thorough detailed address before the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of Florida at Jacksonville, January 18, 1905, sketching the history of that institution in Florida (Paper pp. 31, without footnotes).

The Macmillian Co. announces the completion of their edition of *Hakluyt's Voyages* in 12 volumes. Five hundred sets were apportioned to the United States, all of which are already subscribed for except a small number. The price is

fixed at $48 for the 12 volumes. The number apportioned to England was one thousand, all being ordered before the publication of the first volume. This work first appeared in 1589, then again in 1600, 1809, 1885, but all these reprints have become very scarce and costly. This one by Macmillan is undoubtedly the most sumptuous in existence.

THE WOOING OF JUDITH. By Mrs. Sara Beaumont Kennedy. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902. D. pp. 6 prelim. leaves + 399. Cloth, $1.50.

The scene of this story is laid in Virginia during the commonwealth period and the devotion of several families to the fortune of the Stuarts plays an important part, but it is not an historical novel. It is a love story pure and simple where the actors are of the conventional type. The main characters are married early, thanks to the suppression of a letter by the prospective groom, and the plot then turns on the punishment administered to her husband by the indignant bride when her first lover reappears on the scene. It is hard to think that any man in his right mind would have acted as Laurence Falkner did, but Mrs. Kennedy has a way of having her heroes and heroines make fools of themselves, as was the case in *Joscelyn Cheshire*, the object in this case apparently being to preach a sermon on the heinousness of lying.

THE CLANSMAN. An historical romance of the Ku Klux Klan. By Thomas Dixon, Jr. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1905. D. pp. 7 prelim. leaves + 374, 8 ills. by Arthur I. Keller. Cloth, $1.50.

This is the second in Mr. Dixon's trilogy dealing with the problems envolved by the Civil War. The first was *The Leopard's Spots*. It appeared in 1902 and stated in outline the conditions of the race conflict from the enfranchisement of the negroes to his disfranchisement. *The*

Clansman is intended to tell the story of the Ku Klux Klan which overturned the reconstruction regime. It is reported that the third volume will be called *The Traitor* and will deal with the race problem as it confronts the South to-day.

The Clansman opens with life in official circles in Washington just after the close of the war and leads up to the assassination of Lincoln. The second quarter of the story deals with the events in Congress when Thad. Stevens who here masquerades under the thin disguise of Austin Stoneman, was forcing his reconstruction legislation through Congress. Book III gives a partial history of reconstruction orgies in South Carolina and the fourth book alone deals with the Ku Klux Klan from which it takes its name.

This story is as its sub-title claims an historical romance. The scene is in Washington and in the foothills of the Carolinas, the time 1865 to 1870. Many of the scenes like that during the impeachment of Johnson are in no sense over-drawn. In fact the dramatic possibilities of the real are almost more than the imagination itself can conceive.

The account of corruption and rottenness in the South Carolina legislature here described is tame, even when the license of the novelist is considered, beside the fearful realities of the time. As in *The Leopard's Spots* it has been necessary to tone down historical facts to make them appear credible in fiction. There is little said of the Klan and its work,—it is almost Hamlet with Hamlet left out. The author does not rise to the height which his subject requires. His pictures of the Klan and its work are commonplace by the side of *The Fool's Errand.*

There is a double love story and while the love making is not as crass as that of *The Leopard's Spots* it is still full of sophomoric bombast and rhodomontade. Elsie and Margaret rise above the simpering Sallie. Ben and Phil are better than Charlie Gaston, but there is no one who rises in the dignity and power of the Rev. Dr. John Durham.

As an historical romance designed to teach the truths of the past through the imagination it is distinctly inferior to its predecessor. It fails in grasp and in presentation. It is weak in style, with too much that is trivial and commonplace with long exasperating speeches in the most trying situations. It is essentially a book with but a single marked character, for Stoneman, in the bitterness and malignity of his sublime hate for the South towers alone and dwarfs all others.

NOTES AND NEWS

Scientific History.—A good chance for testing the value of the scientific school of history was lately afforded when the governments of the United States and France paid so much honor to the remains supposed to be those of our Revolutionary hero, John Paul Jones. He died more than a century ago and was buried in Paris but his grave was unmarked and even its locality was forgotten. Still the American Ambassador, Mr. Porter, under the influence of sentimental patriotism caused a diligent search to be made. Finally, he found a leaden coffin containing a body in a very good state of preservation. In measurements it did not differ very much from some of the likenesses of Jones, and Jones might have been laid away in such a casket. He claimed the identification was sufficient. Hence the ceremony of transference to this country on one of our naval vessels and reinterment in Annapolis. There have been some doubting Thomases who have questioned very sharply the strength of the proof. But none of these critics are enrolled among the scientific historians. Whether these latter swallowed the whole thing or disdained to notice it can not be said. Surely, however, if ever their services were needed for guiding the "men of the street" this was a clear case. No material interests were involved, no political issue was at stake—simply a question of getting the truth in an academic instance, the very field of their dearest labors. And yet no more attention was paid to them in asking their views or their help than if they had been moles burrowing in the earth.

Personality in Politics.—Material environment and great ethnic principles play their part in the progress of

humanity. Buckle wrote a couple of profound volumes to prove this. He over-emphasized his thesis but he was largely right. On the other hand Carlyle stands for the power of the individual upon our destiny. Very curious illustrations turn up from time to time supporting him. A most interesting one bears upon the election of James Buchanan in 1856 as President of the United States, as related by J. A. Parker, a minor official and politician of the time. He declares that early in 1852, W. R. King, of Alabama, with several helpers from Virginia, met in council in Washington to lay plans for carrying Virginia for the nomination of Buchanan in the Democratic convention of that year. Not a newspaper in the State had hoisted the flag for him and very few of the prominent men. Still the delegation stuck to him through thirty-two ballots and thus laid the foundation for his subsequent elevation four years later. These early toilers were influenced in their selection of Buchanan by a letter of his in 1847 in which he took a very strong stand against the Wilmot proviso. If this bit of hidden history is true Buchanan's luck first took root nine years before it came to him. Mr. Parker has left a manuscript of reminiscences which ought to be printed if they are all as likely to hold the attention as this. (Va. Magazine of History, July, 1905.)

Italians as Farmers.—In Southern New Jersey are two agricultural colonies of Italians successfully tilling the sandy pine lands of that region—Vineland and Hammonton. They first came there chiefly as berry pickers. Noticing the demand for vegetables they rented some of the poor land and set to work supplying the nearby markets. Then they bought, giving mortgages, and afterwards built substantial homes. They have mostly got out of debt during the few years they have been there and are now a very important element of the population, adding greatly to the

united wealth and owning some twenty per cent. of the deposits in the savings banks and equally as much in the capital of the building associations. They are a thrifty, enterprising community, making good American citizens, ambitious to adopt our habits, and speaking the English language. The very opposite of the negro in energy and economy, what a revolution they will work through the South when the mighty stream of their immigration turns in that direction! How irresistibly they will drive the colored man to the wall, too. (Miss E. F. Meade, South Atlantic Quarterly, July, 1905.)

Prof. J. F. Jameson.—After the first of October the historical work of the Carnegie Institution will be in charge of Prof. J. F. Jameson who resigns from the headship of the history department of the Chicago University to accept this position, left vacant by the return of Prof. A. C. McLaughlin to his former post at Michigan University. Certainly the Carnegie trustees could never have made a more ideal choice than the selection of this eminent scholar for conducting their Bureau of Historical Research. Liberal and catholic in his views, accurate in his knowledge, tireless in his investigations, and strong in his grasp, Professor Jameson will undoubtedly set the highest standard for scholarship. It is most likely that he will devote the most of his energy towards clearing the pathway for other students to enter upon the field of original material. No better aid could be given than to point out and describe the chief repositories and to edit and publish as much of this foundation material as the means will allow.

Thomas M. Owen.—At the meeting of the Confederate Veterans in Louisville, June 14-16, Mr. Thomas M. Owen was chosen head of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. This organization has amounted to very little in size and appear-

ance and still less in genuine work, but if any one can make it serviceable, Mr. Owen can. He is enthusiastic in all historical matters and one of the most indefatigable students to be found. He is the pioneer in getting a State Department of History in the South. It was through his efforts that Alabama first organized such an institution. He has also written considerably and edited very successfully.

LIFE OF DR. CURRY.—President E. A. Alderman, University of Virginia, is collecting material for a life of Dr. J. L. M. Curry. Dr. Alderman was well acquainted with Dr. Curry and was chosen by the latter to deliver an address at the funeral of Dr. Curry and a very appreciative utterance he made. Dr. Albert Shaw was once spoken of for preparing the biography but he declined the work.

PROF. J. C. METCALF.—Formerly of Georgetown College, Kentucky, has lately been chosen professor of English in Richmond College, Richmond, Virginia. Professor Metcalf has spend the past year at Harvard carrying on advanced work.

NECROLOGY.

Major William McKendree Robbins, born October 26, 1828, in Randolph County, North Carolina, died May 3, 1905, in Salisbury, North Carolina. He was the son of Ahi Robbins, his mother being the sister of Gen. James Madison Leach. After graduating at Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, he settled in Selma, Alabama, teaching school and finally practising law. On the outbreak of the Civil War he volunteered and saw service in Virginia throughout the struggle, being at Bull Run, Gettysburg, the Wilderness and other great battles, winding up his military career with the rank of major. He returned to Salisbury, North Carolina, and entered the legal field again but was soon chosen for the State Senate. In 1872 he was elected Congressman, also in 1874 and 1876, being placed on the Ways and Means Committee in his last term. He retired to private life where he remained until appointed a member of the Gettysburg Battle Field Commission in 1893 in which position he continued till his death. The local editor considered his strength to lie in his eloquence before the people declaring him "truly a great orator." He was a prohibitionist and advocated such a measure before the voters of his State in 1881, although he was warned that it would mean the end of his congressional career; but he decided to stand for the right "Congress or no Congress." In early manhood he married the daughter of Rev. Archibald Montgomery, a Presbyterian minister, who lived but a few years. After the war he married her sister. She and two daughters and one son survive. For a number of years he was a member of the Methodist Church but later became a Presbyterian. Major Robbins was a charter member of the Southern History Association at its organization, April 24, 1896.

BOOKS, MAGAZINES AND PAMPHLETS on North Carolina History Wanted by Stephen B. Weeks, San Carlos, Arizona.

☞I wish to buy (not to borrow) any of the following. Correspondents will state condition, binding and editions of copies offered; in case of pamphlets and magazines whether with or without covers and advertisements, trimmed or untrimmed, and *quote prices.*

☞The following list does not include all my wants on N. C. I will buy anything of value and wish lists submitted of any items for sale. Dealers are requested to mail catalogues regularly.

Willie Person Mangum (1792-1861, Senator from North Carolina and President United States Senate, 1842-5). I am preparing a biography of Judge Mangum and desire any letters to or from him, portraits, speeches, newspaper articles for or against, anecdotes, or any other material illustrating his career or relating to his family. ☞Correspondence solicited.

Confederate Local Stamps: Issued by various towns in the South in 1861. Do not remove from envelopes. Submit lists. ☞Correspondence solicited.

Magazines: So. Quart. Rev., DeBow's Review, send lists of each; Amer. Hist. Mag. (Nashville), V. I-III, IV, No. 1; So. Literary Messenger, V. II (Jan., 1836), pp. 129-132 (if published); XVIII, Ap., '52, or pp. 193-96; XXXIV, Feb. & Mar., 1862, (or pp. 81-2 and 207-8); N. C. Univ. Magazine for May, 1861 (will pay $5); June, 1878, or pp. 167-168, if perfect (will pay $2); title page (if any) to VIII, 1888-9 (will pay $1); front and back covers for Mar., June, Oct., Nov., 1844, June, Sept., 1856; front covers for May, June, 1852, Aug., Nov., 1853, Nov., 1855;

Land We Love and Our Living and Our Dead, any Nos., also newspaper series of latter. South Atlantic V. I, No. 2; II, 2, 4; III, 2, 3, 5, 6; IV, 1, 3, 5, 6; VI, 1, 2, 6, and all after. N. C. Educational Journal, Vol. I, No. 11 (1858); III, all; V, 1, 3, 5, 10; VI, all; VII, all after 2. Newspapers before 1875. At Home and Abroad, any Nos. The Keystone (1865). So. Christian Repository (1841-3).

Incunabula: Any issue of the N. C. press in the 18th century, particularly the Revisals of the Laws printed in 1751, 1752, 1764, 1765, 1773; Martin's Private Acts, British Statutes, and his edition of the Acts of 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794; any of the annual Acts of Assembly; any of the Journals of the Senate or House of Commons; the Journals and Debates of the Conventions in 1788 and 1789; any newspapers, almanacs, school books, anything bearing a N. C. imprint prior to 1865.

Laws: Any annual or session laws prior to 1836, 1840. Journals of Assembly: Any prior to 1848. Legislative or Public Documents: Any prior to 1842; 1844-45, 1846-7, 1861 1st extra. Reports and other papers of N. C. Board of Internal Improvements and Olmsted-Mitchell Geological Survey, 1815-1827.

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WHITING DIARY,

March from Fredericksburg to El Paso del Norte.

(To be Continued.)

[The author of this diary, W. H. C. Whiting, a sketch of whom appears in Vol. VI, page 283, was born in Mississippi in 1825. He was graduated at the U. S. Military Academy in 1845, and assigned to the engineer corps in the West and South, becoming a captain December 13, 1858. He resigned 20th February, 1861, and entered the Confederate service with the rank of major of the Army of the Shenandoah. He was promoted brigadier general, 1861, and was made a major general in 1863. He built Fort Fisher, N. C., which he commanded. On its capture by Gen. A. H. Terry, he was severely wounded and taken prisoner. He was taken to Blackwell's Island, New York, where he died of his wounds 16th March, 1865. The march was made in 1850 as learned from the records in the U. S. War Department. There is no year given in the diary.]

Feb. 21st.

At a late hour in the afternoon my party left Fredericksburg, the last settlement it was to see until Presidio del Norte should be reached.

This little town is a colony of the Dutch, many of whom have emigrated to Texas and pushed their settlements in every direction. It has a pretty site on Zanon's creek, one of the little streams which swell the Piedernales, and some day or other may become a place of importance, but now its

people are miserably poor—without the usual thrift, I have seen among them they undertook to build themselves a fine town before they attended to their fields and their crops, and have been through two long seasons nearly starved in consequence.

Capt. Eastman 1st Infn. is encamped near this place and to his polite assistance I am much indebted in increasing my scanty outfit.

Here I employed another man Wm. Howard—he had been out with Hays.

We now number including Lt. Smith, Dick Howard, the two Mexicans, my servant and myself, sixteen.

We camped on Live Oak creek, about five miles from Fredericksburg.

Feb. 22nd.

We started this morning, with fine clear weather at ½ past 8, Dick leading the trail and striking across to the left of a high hill, bearing about W from camp, until in about 20′ we fell in with an old path, known I believe as the Pinta trail and in former times and to this day used by the Indians. Entering a spur of the Piedernales valley we followed it on a general course of about N 70 W by compass for nearly 2 miles when we reached its terminating ridge a rough stony hill of limestone formation from which, by Dick's advice I assumed a direction N 37 W, bearing on a range of blue hills in the distance. These we reached at ¼ of 2 P. M., our route lying through a rough tract and the travel quite hard upon the mules—water was found in abundance, as in a distance of 6 or 7 miles we crossed the creeks of the Pedernales four times, the last one somewhat boggy.

From this "Divide" we could see the vicinity of Pecan Spring, bearing N 32 W and to the left of a bluff and notable hill N 37 W. Here Dick and myself separated from the party and leaving the trail to the right entered the beautiful

valley through which runs Threadgill's creek's. Excellent pasturage and an abundance of water was found all the way to the Spring, which we reached at 4 at the same time with the train. They had continued by the old trail, a very rough route.

Our march has been 25 miles.

Pecan Spring is a small, clear, pleasant spring gushing under a spreading pecan tree and affording a delightful resting place. An observation for Latitude showed its position 30 degrees 29′ 35″. A road should not pass it but leaving it to the right should cross Threadgill's creek below and bear directly upon the bluff before noticed.

Feb. 23rd.

We struck for that this morning and crossing Hickory Creek and two prongs of Mezquite creek passed it.

Our route, now without a trail and led by Dick continued in a pleasant post oak country, until at 11 we reached a live oak clump upon an eminence, itself a good land mark. Here I took some bearings. Bluff hill was S 18 E the bounding ridge to the eastward, of Threadgill's valley S 53 E and far ahead the right pt of the Divide between the Llano and the San Saba N 15 W. This is notable as a land mark and a peculiar notch to the left well known to the old Texan frontiersmen is plainly visible. Howard now led the train by a course generally N and through a fine valley clothed generally with a growth of Post oak, Live oak and Mezquite and presenting fine traveling. The soil is light and loose. On our left and near to the hills is the head of Willow creek and still nearer to us a Pecan Spring at which we arrived at 20′ past 2.

We were delayed nearly an hour by a refractory mule which for a long time eluded all the efforts of the two Mexicans with their lassos.

Pushing on from this Spring we struck into a singular for-

mation of reddish brown rock, appearing in rounded masses and covering the ground to the hill on our left of which it appeared to form the base and summit. From a hasty look, I supposed it ferruginous sandstone. Here we again come in sight of the Notch and shaped our course upon that.

From signs in the Mezquite bottom we found there were Indians about and Dick and I left in search of them. We soon fell in with a Delaware encampment of three or four lodges. One of them Jack Hunter, who had been with Hays I invited over to our camp. In accordance with instructions from the General I was to secure the services of some of the Delawares as guides and Hunters.

23rd. Found the party encamped on the left bank of the Llano, where they had arrived at ½ past 3. We have made about 18 miles. The route selected by Dick Howard has never before been traveled and shows the singular accuracy of his judgment—an unbroken valley may be had to the Pedernales avoiding the stony tract to the S. E. of Pecan Spring.

The ford at our camp on the Llano is good, but the banks require some grading.

We here met John Connor, the well known Delaware chief, noted for his extensive knowledge of the whole country round about and as well for his courage, address and worthy deportment. I tried to engage his services but he said the Wacos were after him and he could not leave his family. He left us some fine turkeys and also some bear meat and venison.

24th Feb. Sat. We left camp at 9 and proceeded on our course N 15 W, passing through a pleasant and well timbered valley for ¾ of an hour, when at Dick's suggestion I altered it to N 45 W bearing upon a cluster of 3 lone hills plainly to be seen against the more elevated San Saba "divide." We met this morning with the cottonwood, the

first I had seen. Known I believe to botanists as the populus conodensis. I regretted inability to carry books with me through a country the productions of which are so interesting and generally so little known.

About 3 miles from the Llano crossed a branch of Comanche Creek at an old Kickapoo encampment. The sight in a fine live oak grove.

We crossed and recrossed Comanche Creek several times this morning; generally in good places and part of the forenoon followed a Comanche trail. Indian trails when running about the course of the traveler, it is well to follow as they almost always pass by the best ground.

We came to camp at 2 in a mezquite flat upon a small branch of Comanche Creek, our march having been about 14 miles. Here we were joined by the Delaware Jack Hunter, who agreed to accompany me for $2.00 per diem, finding his own animal and equipments.

Now, fairly in the Indian range, sentinels were placed this evening and through the night over the animals, I stood the first turn myself, Lt. Smith following and so on through. The mode of watching in vogue with the old frontiersmen is very different from our practice in the army. Careful not to expose himself in any manner, the sentinel lies down among the animals. Mules and horses, especially the former almost always perceive the approach of anyone, however stealthy and by watching them, good guard against the dexterous thieving of the Indians may be kept.

25th Feb. Sund. Left camp this morning at ¼ to 9 crossing Comanche Creek about 200 yds above.

Dick led the trail on the course of yesterday N 43 W. About ½ past 10 we reached a lone hill on our right covered with post oak and formed of the same reddish stone before noticed. Here we could see plainly our land marks and the table ridge or Divide of the San Saba. The country became

more open and at ¼ past 11 after traversing an elevated and rolling tract we reached our three hills.

They like the divide of which they are spurs are of the same limestone formation, in distinct tables, so common in this country.

Named the left hill Brady's hill and bore N 55 W up the divide. This we readily ascended by an easy slope and directed our course for the San Saba about N. W. The elevated plain we were now on extends to the river there terminating in steep bluffs of considerable elevation. It is slightly rolling and small groves or mottes (?) of timber appear here and there.

Two notable hills far up the San Saba and on the other side were now the objects upon which we bore and at 4 we came to camp upon a little creek of the river, which we named Rock Creek from its craggy banks. Our march—20 miles. An observation for latitude gave us 30 degrees 53′.

Monday,
Feb. 26th.

Started this morning at ½ after 8, the same beautiful weather continuing. After crossing the first ridge on our course, we turned to the N following a valley or ravine to descend to the San Saba—a half hour's march brought us by a suitable pass under the lofty cedar bluffs of the river which we crossed just above its junction with Camp Creek.

Here the fine growth of mezquite grass, the young wild rye, induced me to stop to let the mules graze and recruit, their feed of the night before having been quite scant.

The San Saba is a beautiful stream, heavily timbered with the Pecan, the Elm and Hackberry and having fine tracts of land upon its banks.

Saddled up and left at 3 o'clock and after marching 7 miles through a fertile mezquite bottom camped on a little water course which I called Owl Creek, due W, from the mouth of Camp Creek. Lat. 30 degrees 53′ 56″ N.

Tuesday,
Feb. 27th. We left at 8 this morning, marching a little S. of W. for the extreme point of a range of hills bounding the San Saba valley; no natural road can be finer than the route for miles along the banks of this river.

About two miles from camp we crossed a creek with clear water at 10′ past 9 we reached the hill upon which we had been bearing. Three miles and a half farther brought us to the "Short Bend" a fine place for encampment about 7 miles from Owl creek.

Here we see the Northward bending of the river and its turn again to the west, tangent to we now held our course, upon a distant Comanche trail.

Our attention was soon taken up with a populous "Dog Town"—the first I had ever seen—these little animals strip the whole plain adjacent to their holes of every green blade of grass, and few features of the prairie have more of the desert in them, than the "Dog Town."

At ¼ to 12 after passing a small creek of clear water we came upon the old summer camping grounds of the Comanches, the first of a series of beautiful plains sheltered on the North by the range of hills parallel to the river and on the south shaded by the extensive groves of Superb Pecan, which clothe the river banks.

The grass though so early was green and luxuriant. This bend of the San Saba, I called Grave bend, for here we found the Grave of a Comanche warrior.

Crossing a divide of no great elevation we came upon Bovine Creek, about 800 yds above which are situated the ruins of the San Saba Fort.

We found a short distance above these, a pleasant spot for camp and stopped after a march of 18 miles at 2 P. M.

I strolled over the ruins hard by.

Feb. 27. The fort is situated directly on the bank of the

river in a position admirably chosen for defence against the Indians and exhibiting all the judgment for which the old Spanish adventurers were noted. The rapid streams flowing directly under its near walls and accessible by the posterns, it made the central point of a large plain semicircler in form and bounded by a range of low hills some two miles from the North: from its towers the approach of an enemy could easily be descried.

Built in the shape of an oblong of about 270 feet by 200, its flanking defences were 4 octagon towers one at each angle. On the main front stood a kind of citidel and the chapel.

Constructed of unhewn limestone, its ruined walls and dismantled barracks overgrown with mezquite, moss and grass:—huge cactus preventing access to the dilapidated cells whose tenant is now the rattlesnake, it presents in this wild country, many miles distant from any habitation, a striking spectacle.

Still more so it must have been when more than a century ago, side by side in its long corridors stood the steel clad soldiers of Europe, the adventuring and grasping miners of the new world, and the equally enterprising disciple of Loyola, surrounded by the warlike Comanche tribes.

Of its foundation and its date, I am ignorant, and here without books can only speculate upon it and listen to the old traditions of sombre and mysterious interest, which are told by my men, of its fall. It is said that a similar terrible tragedy to that of Mac Knew was here enacted by the Comanches and that but one, a priest, escaped to tell the tale at Bexar.

An alarm was given during the night at this camp of Indians attempting to steal some of our mules and the loud report of the sentinel's rifle, roused the sleepers round the camp fires. Whatever the cause, prowling Indians or

wolves, the shot dispersed them the rest of the night was quiet.

Wed. 28th
Feb. We left camp at 9, following an old trail of the Comanches, which led us across the river a short distance above the fort and again at about 10 brought us to the Stream at a good ford. Our course as yesterday's is still Westerly, occasionally ½ a pt. S of that.

I omitted to mention that the Fort is due west from the mouth of Camp Creek's and its latitude nearly the same with the last recorded.

Our path, after crossing the river, wound through a live oak and Mezquite growth scattered here and there in groves upon the prairie. At 12 we crossed the so-called Turkey bayou and soon after reached a large still lagoon: this I called "The Broncho."

At one still following the Comanche trail we discovered a beautiful sheet of deep clear water which I named Howard Lagoon.

Having arrived at a bend of the river along which we traveled until it bore Southwards and finding good grass and convenient water at 2 P. M. we encamped. Our march of to-day has been 18 miles.

Thurs.
March 1st. We started at ½ after 9 this morning and found after marching about 6 miles, the so-called head Spring and lagoon of San Saba, bearing about S b W ½′ W (?) from the Fort. The grass here was very fine and as this is the last water known to any of the party, I judged it prudent to stop and give the team a good rest, before venturing out into the great prairie.

Numerous signs were discovered during the afternoon, by such of the party as had been hunting, of the near neigh-

borhood of Indians and at night the guard over the animals was doubled.

About one at night the mules stampeded with a great snorting; the strength of the new ropes with which they were fastened was all that saved them to us. The night was dark and pulling back with all its force upon its lariats, every animal appeared with ears pricked looking in one direction, the quarter whence their fright had come. After some moments of anxious suspense the crack of the sentry's rifle showed he had discovered the cause. The Indians for such they proved disappeared incontinently and the mules resumed their grazing.

I was pleased with the conduct of my men at this alarm. Awakened at the least sound, when the startling tramp of the frightened herd came upon the still air, not a man arose, from where he lay. Each one quietly turning on his rude bed with head slightly raised from the saddles which served as pillows, and every sense alert, remained with rifle cocked until the disturbance ceased, watching for the slightest motion before them.

Friday,
March 2nd. Left the San Saba Spring at 9, course W by compass. Soon fell in with a much used trail, the signs upon which convinced us that Indians had passed in the night.

I am particular to-day to mention the times of arriving at all watering places—3 miles from camp, we passed, a little to our right, a large hole of water. Were delayed at it 25′—twenty-five minutes ride from this and still upon the trail and we reached another fringed with live oak timber.

From a hill on our course, about 7 miles from San Saba Spring and called from the turret like appearance of the rocks at its Summit, Castle hill, Dick took the bearing of our course for the next day or so S 80 W, being nearly the true W course. Here directly ahead we descried a large lagoon.

We arrived here about 12; it is nearly ¼ of a mile in length and I should think is permanent.

20′ after 12 we passed another small water hole; all of these are situated in the continuation of the San Saba gully which still meanders through this beautiful valley. I have never yet seen, so far, a finer natural road. The hills now begin to partake of the great Limestone table formation of the Prairie. The horizontal tops limited by perpendicular bluff of Lime of no great elevation, commence to be seen.

At 20′ after one having marched 11 miles and reached a small water hole, I decided to noon "it" as the Texans have it, and dispatched 4 men in advance to look for water. The trail hitherto followed here bends to the Northward. I presume it runs toward the head of the Concho.

March 2nd.

The men sent out shortly returned reporting sufficient water up the valley for our purposes, and saddling up, we rode 4 miles on the course of S. 80 W and camped for the night at 4 P. M.

Cloudy and no opportunity to make observations.

Mar. 3rd

Sat. We left camp at 9 and by the advice of Dick Howard, struck a course S. 60 W. At 25′ after 11 after traversing the several ridges which bound the head valley of the San Saba, we emerged upon the arid table prairie. Found it barren and thinly clad with scattering mezquite—occasional groves or thickets of live oak were seen in the lowest parts.

Upon reaching some ravines or gullies, which disappointed us as to water, at ½ past 2 we changed the course to S. 70 W. At 10′ of 4 we reached another gulley. Still no water and the course was continued until nearly dark at 20′ past 5 when on reaching an extensive "hum" I determined to camp.

This was done in a live oak grove, situated about a mile

to the left of our course in one of the hollows or depressions of the prairie and which promised us some shelter from the cold Norther which now had sprung up.

We took here an observation for latitude and found ourselves in 30 degrees 36′ 9″—our estimated march 22 miles and Long, about 100 degrees 39′ being nearly 34.4 miles west of the head of the San Saba.

A mist which obtained during the night helped our suffering animals by moistening the scanty grass.

Sunday,
Mar. 4th. Being without water and hence with little to cook we left camp early and at 10 changed our course to due W at the head of a ravine—probably the opening or rise of some river whose water springs are very far below us.

Our general march was over alternate prairie and gentle valleys. The same general desolation apparent. At 11 we struck the trail of Lehigh Smith's men and at one that of Hays.

We now began to feel thirsty—many a hole was passed where Hay's party had camped with water and when we had been assured it would be abundant but there was none for us. We moved on till ½ past 6 and camped in the dry bed of a creek or arroyo.

Our animals began to show signs of suffering. Few of them grazed much and we ourselves felt far from comfortable.

Mar. 5,
Monday. We moved, breakfastless at daylight. Our march now became painful and almost insurportable was continued until 12, each place where those who had been with Hays, expected water, having none. Here some green grass induced me to stop and give our mules a bait.

We traveled generally W, sometimes a little S of that. We left this spot, at 2, and at ½ past 5 again halted in the

bed of a dry creek where some fresh wild rye, promised a little help to the train now nearly broken down. This Arroyo is in a large valley surrounded by high hills of the same limestone table formation as the great prairie itself; the road has been fine but it has the curse of thirst upon it.

At 20′ past 7 we were again enroute—judging that we could not be far from the Pecos or its tributaries and knowing that another night without water would set us afoot, it was thought best to push on.

How weary were the miles of that last march! Silent, unmurmuring, each man rode on, his weary mule unable to make more than a mile and a half an hour. We took an old trail and traveling through a canon or ravine about S. 60 W at ½ past 12 the grateful sound of rippling water reached our ears and we were soon encamped on the W. bank of Live oak creek, a little tributary of the Pecos. Our day's march has been over 42 miles, considering our animals, an extraordinary ride. One mule gave out completely and was obliged to be abandoned, the 3d which has fallen since our departure from Fredericksburg.

This little stream of limpid water called Live oak Creek from the growth near its mouth makes its way to the Pecos through a ravine or canyon, remarkable for its striking formation. A basin enclosed by a general ridge, with detached peaks or spurs, resting against its elevation, in the form of truncated cones. They are marked by two distant horozontal beds of Limestone at different heights. These appear at the sides of the hills and look, in their regularity like walls of masonry, the upper one bounding the top.

The summits are level and apparently at the same general elevation with the great table prairie, out of which they seem to have been cut by some great aqueous convulsion.

Mar. 6. Laid by all day; necessary on account of the exhausted condition of our animals.

(To be Continued.)

MARYLAND POLITICS IN 1796—McHENRY LETTERS.

[Among the papers of James McHenry are a number of letters from Maryland political leaders of the Federalist party casting an interesting light upon the conditions in Baltimore and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland during his incumbency of the Secretaryship of War. A selection of these letters is printed herewith. The Association is indebted to the courtesy of Dr. B. C. Steiner, Librarian of Pratt Library, Baltimore, Md.]

[I, II. Jay Treaty.]

[The Jay Treaty was being violently discussed at that time and is largely the subject of these letters. General Samuel Smith was at that time Representative of Baltimore in Congress and was one of the founders of the Democratic Republican party in the State. He had been a Revolutionary soldier and later became United States Senator from Maryland. In his old age, he showed remarkable vigor during the bank riots of 1835. Colonel Howard was the noted John Eager Howard. James Winchester, the author of these letters, was a distinguished Federalist lawyer of Baltimore.]

[1. Winchester to McHenry.]

Balto. *22 Apr. 1796.*

My Dear Sir.

The length of our County Court, the great increase of business there—the necessary preparation for the approaching general Court and the State of Politics here have prevented my acknowledging your last favor & the receipt of the Censor (wc I admire) till now—

Mr. McElderry & my self having espoused different Interests have employed our time in obtaining Signatures on the subject of the Treaty—of our Course Gen'l Swans claim is on the postpone.

The allarm occasioned by the obstinate pursuit of the disorganizing system, has not been equalled here within my knowledge—An address was some time since proposed to the President but declined as the least efficacious mode

of accomplishing our object—Genl. Smith was down when the Instructions were agitated—Conscious that his conduct opposed the sense of his Constituents—that his popularity received a severe blow—that the instructions contained strong indirect censure of his past conduct—that they originated in a determination to go all proper lengths— His exertions to have them suppressed were proportioned to the consequences he apprehended— Having failed they set on foot a Counter Instruction (if I may so call it) expressing approbation of his conduct & reliance on his prudence, judgment and integrity— It would not have done to have proposed an address against carrying the treaty into effect— Twenty signers could not have been obtained— "Washington & Peace" was the exclamation in every Circle & in every Street of the Town— Even the Neutralized bolus which they had pre-pared for the desponding leader of this part of the Randolphican faction, obtained but few signers and those by vigorous exertions united to the most shameful misrepresentations. You will know that that party is characterized by a more systematic pursuit of their measures, than their opponents— But on this occasion to defeat their plans no influence, no exertion was wanting— It was barely to present the Instructions & they were signed—

The meeting of the Merchants & Traders on the subject of an address to Congress was attended very numerously & unanimous assent given to the Petition— It will be signed by all our respectable Citizens.

S. S. must go out—he cannot stand another election— He was told in large parties— "Sir you shall be turned out" —RS. "You cannot turn him out"— Yes—was the answer Colo. Howard or J. W. can do it— As my professional engagements render it impossible for me to engage in any representative office I have peremptorily declared I will not suffer myself to be polled— If Colo. Howard can be prevailed on to serve, He will of course be our next delegate.—

I have heretofore thought the Treaty a bad one—and have acted under that impression But from inability to form a correct opinion, have never endeavoured to make a Convert to a subject I did not fully comprehend —But on one question I have no doubt— The Legislature possesses neither expressly or incidentally any authority to give effect to or oppose the operation of Treaties. The making a treaty is not a legislative function It is not strictly an executive Power— They depend on *Contract* and their obligation is consequence of *good faith.* But whether this opinion is just or not— Every consideration which can attach a man to his country unite to press giving efficacy to the treaties.

I am Dr. Sir
With sincere Esteem
& obedt. servt.
J. WINCHESTER.

The Honble.
James Mc Henry, Esq.
Secretary at War,
Philadelphia.

[II. WINCHESTER TO MCHENRY.]

BALTO. *1 May, 1796.*

MY DEAR FRIEND.

Since my last We have had no chance in the public opinion except that anxiety is increased for the grant of appropriations, and additional resentment exists against our Member for his speech on the Treaty business.— It may be politic for aught I know for him to count on *numbers* since he has so openly relinquished all claim to support from orderly and "respectable" Citizens.— The Committee have found it necessary to renew their correspondence calling on him to explain the reason of suppressing the true number of his instructions—regretting his attempt to create jealousies between the Town & County, and explicitly de-

claring that he does know the opinion of Balto. to be opposed to his Conduct, and that resolutions expressive of Confidence in the Ho. of Rep. would never have been started but for his declaration that by such means *he* could influence *more* members of Congress.— You know what an Egotist the man is— It is right the Public should also know the means he has adopted to puff himself off—.

I will attend to the business of Mr. Marburys letter— but perhaps he might wish some other Person to be chosen when I inform him that I shall decline going to the Legislature— If he does I will write you.

I am with sincerity
Yr. Hble. Servt.
J. WINCHESTER.

The Honble. James Mc Henry, Esq.,
Secretary at War,
Philadelphia.

[III, IV. MURRAY LETTERS.]

[William Vans Murray was member of Congress for the lower district of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He was later minister to Holland and one of the Commissioners who arranged our difficulties with France in 1800. John Patton had served in the Confederation Congress in 1785-1786. The posts referred to are the Western posts which the English government was to give up as a result of the Jay Treaty. "Young Bayard" was James A. Bayard, who was afterwards minister to France, and member of the United States Senate. He was one of the signers of the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war of 1812, and died in the next year.]

[III. MURRAY TO MCHENRY.]

CAMBRIDGE, *24 June, 1796.*

MY DEAR SIR.

* * * The mind of this district had been more agitated on the late crisis than I expected—their high mightinesses generally are really severe—but they were from all I can hear much alarmed & extremely indignant at the Southern

party—but alas we are a mere drop in the bucket— Delaware was in a perfect ferment & are yet so at their member Mr. Patton— Young Bayard, a fine young man, of parts & the right sort of parts well directed will succeed him— I inclose a bundle of petitions wh. I received a few days since from a Mr. Carke a lawyer of Dover on the Treaty —with his letter to me— If it would serve a good end it might be published with out names—he does not seem adverse to this— I take no Philad. paper though now & then we have them— So I know not whether French men eat each others hearts or English press our seamen—& rob our merchants—& indeed as my destiny changes from public to private life next March I feel it incumbent to wean gradually from the contemplation of what can not be altered by thinking—to prepare for continued uninterrupted retirement—& to "grow *small* by degrees & elegantly less" Yet to leave the full tide of Philad. information is not the easiest task—but what ought to be—must be —

Nothing from the posts yet I suppose— I will not say that I have been mortify'd in not hearing from you— I know how much you are engaged— But a news paper in an almost blank sheet—or a note to tell me that you & Mrs. McHenry are well and almost in your own house would give my solitary mind a rallying point.

I am my dear Sir affectionately
Sincerely yrs &C
W. V. Murray.

As the petitions are numerous & not
absolutely the most entertaining
things in the world I only inclose
the letter—
The Honourable
James Mc Henry Esquire
Secretary at War
Philadelphia.

[IV. Murray to McHenry.]

On the subject I wrote lately to you but have not had the pleasure of a line since that in wh. you promised me the Talk to make up for Silence.

R. S. is out of the Senate. Genl. Ridgely in & a Mr. G. Chesley. The Senate are federal— W. ought to stand for Baltimore as Elector a Mr. Carrol is talked of *who* I know not.

I am affectionately
My Dear Sir
W. V. M. *Sept. 24, 1796.*

[V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI. The Presidential Election of 1796 in Maryland.]

[Fauchet was the French minister to the United States and Fenno was the publisher of the leading Federalist newspaper in Philadelphia. McHenry had been asked by Murray to engage lodgings for him at Mrs. Jones's in Philadelphia during the next session of Congress.]

[V. Murray to McHenry.]

My Dear Sir.

* * * The accounts from Baltimore that reach this place are all in favor of Mr. Jeff ——— & the party there wd. have us believe that all men of that Town are for him— but I hear that Howard is to be their *elector* & he will be right— I hear not one word of *Winchester* as an Elector— however I hope always for the best— The French drive on wonderfully. Their memorial to the court of Madrid is well worthy of circulation in the U. S.— It sets out with a flat contradiction to the maxims of the Jacobins of this country & those of the French here who for three years, Fauchet included, have harassed our politics. The favorite

position among such & in particular of Fauchet has been that, in the making of Treaties the very best & only true basis among Republics was in a *Similitude of political form* of Govt. In this exquisite memorial is the words emphatically Stated—that this is not the best basis—that interest is the best & I had not seen it till I met with it some days since in a London paper belonging to Col. Harrison—it is of March or May last & ought to be in Fenno principally as the basis of his memorial to the S. S. Gl.— & it helped him out much— It would show to our innocent and gullible philanthrops that the French act in different places upon different principles— & in medical language fight at symptoms without fixed theory—this is temporary good to them & very bad for others who trust too warmly.

But my man says my seeding plough is broken & I must seed my corn ground— So I conclude with a hope that I shall hear from you by a line on Mrs. Jones's lodgings if you have leisure to do me this favor.

I am affectionately
always Dear Sir
Wliliam V. Murray.

The Honorable
James Mc Henry, Esq.,
Secretary at War
Philadelphia.
(*Oct. 9, 1796.*)

[VI. Murray to McHenry.]

My Dear Sir.

I assure you, I did by no means expect regular returns to my letters— I wrote from a very selfish motion, because it was agreeable to me to hold these soliloquies towards you & like most great talkers was not displeased to talk all—& I know your engagements & that it would not be proper

to trust opinions by past Phocion— I wish you had recollected Phocion by putting a number in your letter for I presume it is in a newspaper—Yet—He is a very useful and judicious man—safe & trustworthy & enlightened—I too have been scribbling short vindications of Mr. A.—perhaps Phocion is on the same— A. I hear is attacked throughout all our State papers on his book—but I do not see a paper unless you send me one, not once a month from any press—

Fenno's I shd. hope are full in his favour—our Elector is right—Roberts of Talbot who stands agt. Wright is as he should be— Done for Somt. & Worcest'r—right—Duval agt. Carrol of Carrollton is for Jeff.—and will probably be the elector as C. has no current popularity—ah—why was not our young friend W. of Baltimore Started— I fear you have given up that post to bad management.

I am sorry to say that I begin to wish to be in Philad. I should be alarmed at such ci-devant feelings Did not I not hope that I principally wish to see & talk with you for about three months—

Yours my Dear Sir
Affectionately,
Wm. V. M.

28 Oct. '96.

The Honorable
James Mc Henry,
Secretary at War,
Philadelphia.

[VII. Murray to McHenry.]

[Swanwick is probably John Swanwick, a Representative from Pennsylvania from 1795 to 1798, when he resigned. "Great Harper" is Robert Goodloe Harper, then a Representative from South Carolina. Smith S. C. is William Smith, of South Carolina. Wolcott—Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Treasury. Benjamin Banneker was a somewhat noted negro mathematician who lived in the vicinity of Ellicott's Mills, Md.]

2 Nov., '96.

My Dear Sir.

You see I write without answers—as the old officer, in Bunbury's *long story,* thickens the battle, and springs the mine, while the table sleeps or yawns.—

Since I wrote pains have been taken to get our people to turn out next Wednesday—as much pains have been used by Eccleston's opponent Genl. Whitely of Caroline who in his letters avows for Mr. Jeffn. E. however will outvote him in his own county & here more votes will be taken than ever were in any *one* day.— You have all let Swanwick get in again. Surely it was badly schemed to set up Mr. E. T.— I have just seen Phocion and wish he were not so minute— The temper of the people is much wrought up, on great party principles— Small detail not immediately & strikingly pointed seems too circuitous a way to their feelings & present warmth— In this county I think I never knew an election so much of *principles.* Genl. E. is obnoxious to about one-half the county & is to be opposed next year by them in a Sheriff's election, yet the language is, our choice is a party question, not a personal matter—this, for a Southern election, is a pleasing feature of the Peoples goodness.

It would appear as if the French mean to exert their *power* over neutral rights—to shut out all british trade—and I confess I fear that they will try the experiment in the U. S.— It is their interest to do it—& if they failed they would talk of necessity. Galatin I hear is in!

The subject of a postscript to my last about his excellency was in confidence & I fear ridiculous & the piece I inclosed was most *hastily written,* under an intention of being sent to Baltimore—but I happened to be too late for the boat.

Pray remember me to Mr. Wolcott— I see—writes away & of all whom he can get hold of —His pieces bating the

open contract which he takes pains to hold up between French and English, are read here with relish & do much good.——

I am sincerely & affectionately
Dear Sir Yours,
Wm. V. M.

Should you fall in upon Smith, S. C., pray remember me to him Is the great Harper in Philad? & who is thought of *as Vice P.*— Phocion's ridicule of G's philosophy of the secretions & smile of the Black & of brother Benneker though least relevant takes most with people here & does good——

The Honorable
James Mc Henry,
Secretary at War,
Philadelphia.

Will Mr. Wolcott be able to make out a practicable direct Tax agreeably to the resolution of the house— I suspect it is impossible.——

[VIII. Murray to McHenry.]

Tuesday, *15th Nov., 1796.*

My Dear Sir,

* * *

I admire the Poem you so kindly sent me though of poetry I am a cold admirer— We hear nothing yet of our Election—our man is elected—but Whitely beat him in Caroline sixty-three votes— It always appeared to me a nice point between Jefferson & Adams more so when I arrived at home & found this State so much divided— No effort however ought to be omitted let what will come of it. No man ever Saved himself from drowning if instead of swim-

ming he stopt stroke & trusted to the tide. Thank you for Phocion, who mends— Col. P[ickering]'s note is excellent— Yours My dear Sir

Affectionately

W. V. Murray.

[IX. Winchester to Mc Henry.]

[Potts—Richard Potts, of Frederick. The Crosscut Bill is a bill for canal construction.]

Balto., *Novr. 16, 1796.*

My Dear Friend.

As to politics we are so anxious to hear from a distance that we attend but little to those at home — I believe Mr. Jefferson will have only three votes in this State —Mr. Carroll was not a little mortified at his defeat—as also Colo. Howard who, if he will accept, will be appointed Senator in the place of Mr. Potts now a district —If he declines, God knows who we shall get, for I am fearful they will pick up some of the violent sort.

I believe the Cross-Cut bill will be thrown upon the Parish— It seems to be deserted in the Assembly as illegitimate.— I am Dr. sir

Yours Sincerely,

J. Winchester.

The Honble J. Mc Henry
Secretary at War,
Philadelphia.

[X. Murray to McHenry.]

[William Mathews was elected to Congress in that autumn. Xtie is Gabriel Christie who served as a Congressman from Maryland during the years 1793 to 1797 to 1799 to 1801.]

We shall be to my mortification half & half—a punster would say quite drunk—as we shall be 5 for A. & 5 for J.—

In Mathew's district where he had just beat Xtie, little exertion was made! Archer has beat Howard—Duval, Carrol—that was to have been expected—young W[inchester] would have beat Duval———.

Yrs my dear Sir
Affectionately
WM. V. MURRAY.

[XI. MURRAY TO MCHENRY.]

23 Nov. 1796.

* * * * * I hear too that Deakins is elected versus Mason—Duval rode about I hear with Mr. A's Defence—misinterpreting it to the people—my brother who is just from Baltimore says a considerable alarm has spread to the detriment of trade by the going out of Adet—& the fear of a French war—& that some of his acquaintances who were lately much Frenchfy'd are now indignant against them. I can not lay in my corn till next week & of course can not set off till To-morrow fortnight.

W. V. MURRAY.

[XII, XIII, XIV, XV. FINANCIAL & POLITICAL.]

[Philip Key was born in St. Mary's county in 1750, served for a number of years in the General Assembly and was Speaker of the House of Delegates. He was also a member of Congress from 1791 to 1793. Samuel Chase was then the State of Maryland's financial agent and was engaged in trying to recover Maryland's stock in the Bank of England. Baltimore had but one bank until this time, the New Bank is still in existence under the name of the National Bank of Baltimore. William Pinkney had just been sent to England as one of the Commissioners under the Jay Treaty.]

[XII. KEY TO MCHENRY.]

We shall have in our Treasury after meeting the demands of the State nearly $35,000—some struggle will take place how this sum is to be disposed of. The agent & his

party are for vesting it in 6 pct stock—with an eye to the commission & to prevent Baltimores deriving any benefit from the use of it—others are for taking shares in the New bank—This agents business keeps open a kind of shop—that is well calculated to promote the interest of a few in this town—and its high time the door was closed—Our Bank Stock is yet in the Moon & the State in the clouds in pursuit of it—its probable Pinkney,—under the direction of the agent Mr. Chase will have the management of the business in England—I shall be obliged to you to write me the curt price of 6 pct stock & the probable demand for it —this information I want to aid the application of our money in taking shares in the New Bank

with great respect & esteem

I am DSir yr. Obt. sevt. P: KEY.

Honble
Jas Mc Henry
Philadelphia.

[XIII. CARROLL TO MCHENRY.]

ANNAPOLIS *28th Nov. 1796.*

DEAR SIR

I am just now favored with yours of the 25th instant covering 2 Pamphlets for wh. I am much obliged to you—

You have seen no doubt the Governor's address to our Assembly wh was printed several days ago—— The answer was presented yesterday: it *notices* the Presdt. address to the People of the U. S. I hope you will approve the answer; it also glances at the intriques of *foreign Emissaries* Our Assembly (a great majority at least wh was plainly discovered on Howard's election as Senator *in ye room of* Mr. Potts 15 only voting for Mr. Sprigg) is well & strongly attached to ye Federal Govt.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

[XIV. CHASE TO MCHENRY.]

[Robert Smith, a brother of Samuel Smith, was Secretary of the Navy and Attorney General in Jefferson's administration of the Presidency and Secretary of State under Madison. Plater was Thomas Plater, a member of Congress from 1801 to 1805.]

I believe the Votes of the electors of the president and Vice President from this State will be as follows.

For Adams.	For Jefferson.
Lyan	Gilpin
Murdock	Archer
Deakins.	Duvall 3
Done	Plater.
Roberts	
Atherton 6	
Plater	

Thus there will be Six to three and one for both.

There is a vacancy in our Senate by the Appointment of Colo. Howard to the Senate of the United States. Mr. Robt. Smith will be pushed by his friends. I believe Colo. Jewett will resign the latter end of the session.

A letter from you came to my House last Week, & was sent to Annapolis but remained in the post office. I have sent for it.

You ever have my best Wishes. Adieu.

Yours truly

SAML. CHASE.

The Honourable
James McHenry
Secretary at War Philadelphia

[XV. CHASE TO MCHENRY.]

[Craik was William Craik, a member of Congress from 1796 to 1801. Rufus King was then United States Minister to London. McMechen was David McMechen, a prominent Baltimore Federalist. James Calhoun was first Mayor of Baltimore, which town was incorporated as a city at this time.]

You find my information of the Votes of the electors in

this State was accurate. it is possible Mr. Plater's vote for both Mr. A. & Mr. J. may be of service to Mr. A.— Mr. Plater would not have been elected but he left his poll open for four Days & Mr. Craik closed the first Day, owing *to* the Inaccuracy in the Law.

I have received but one letter from Mr. Pinckney dated 27 of August. Has Govr. received no letter since from the Comrs' on Spoliations. You remember that Mr. Pickering promised to write Mr. King respecting the Bank Stock. Our Legislature are uneasy and called on me for Information, & it was not in my Power to give them any Satisfaction. I wish you would call on Mr. Pickering and enquire *when* he wrote to Mr. King, & if any acknowledgement of the arrival of the letter. If you can give any Information concerning the Stock you will be pleased to communicate it.

It seems this town must be incorporated. At least our Democratic Senators, and Mechanic Senators say so, & their leaders McMechen & Winchester have proposed to their will by a Bill wch. is piblished & which I enclose you— I proposed a Petition expressing our desire to be incorporated with promise of a Republican Govt. and requesting the form of Govt. for our City to be framed as nearly similar as possible to our National and State Constitutions, and I believe it is signed by many of our principal citizens. Genl. Smith & Jas. Calhoun signed. You have heard that Mr. McMechen is elected a Senator and led 8 vote to 3 for Mr. Robt. Smith, & it was so published— *Wormwood!* adieu. Health & Happiness attend you and yours. I am

with respect & regard
Your affectionate & Obedt. servt.
SAMUEL CHASE.
Dec. 4, 1796.

REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS.

DUANE LETTERS.

HUGH GAINE[1] TO JAMES DUANE.

SIR,

The following is copied from a Carolina paper under the London head:

London: 30th. May 1775—Stock fell from one and half per cent on account of the News of the engagement between the Kings troops and the Provincials at Lexington. The account published in the Bristol papers of June first is the same as brought here by Captain Allen from Salem.

In the same paper Notice is given from the Secretary of States office that no advice had been received at the American Departments of any such event, but that a vessel with dispatches from Gen. Gage was daily expected. It is said Lord North when he received the News that the Provincials had defeated Gen. Gages trroops, was struck with astonishment, turned pale and did not utter a syllable for some minutes. All further discussion of American and Brittish rights founded on justice is now at an end. The appeal has been made by our troops beginning the late affray to God, but God and American Virtue seem to have declared against our pretensions.

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[1] Hugh Gaine was born in Ireland in 1726 and died in New York in 1807. He was a printer and bookseller in New York and in 1752 he there established a weekly publication called *The Mercury*. This paper was for some time published in the Whig interest, but later, strangely enough, Gaine espoused the royal cause and his paper became a Tory organ. At the close of the war feeling ran so high against Gaine that his petition to remain in New York was granted upon the condition that the further issue of the *Mercury* should cease.

The above was received yesterday by a brig in 9 days from South Carolina.

I am Sir
Your humble Servant
HUGH GAINE.

To James Duane Esq.
At Philadelphia.

New York
July 26, 1775.

LAURENS[2] TO JAMES DUANE.

[PRESSURE OF AFFAIRS. CROSSING SUSQUEHANNA.]

YORK TOWN, *25 Febry 1778.*

DEAR SIR

I had reserved myself for paying proper respects to your several favors of the 8 & 18th Inst. The latter recd but half an hour ago in a leisure moment at Night—but the Cry: "Susquehanna will be impassible to-morrow" hurried me at the usual hour homeward with a determination to attempt the needful, before the evening service & to send off this messenger in time to pass that dreadful Susa—but all in vain, visitor upon visitor application upon application has rendered my purposes to write by light of the Sun, I mean as I wished to have written, fruitless—I must either detain the bearer till tomorrow & hazard detention at the River three or four days longer when the most important concerns are depending upon his dispatch or reluctantly submit to tell you I will write fully by an

[2] John Laurens, the "Bayard of the Revolution," was a South Carolinian by birth; became one of Washington's aides; conspicuous in the defense of both Charleston and Savannah; sent to France by Washington to solicit the aid of that country; received the thanks of Congress. On August 27, 1782, he was shot in a skirmish by the enemy.

opportunity which I must make in four or five days from this—I am persuaded you will commend me for preferring the latter & believe me to be with very sincere Regard

Dear Sir
Your obedient &
most humble Servant

LAURENS.

The Honble
James Duane Esquire
Albany—

WILLIAM DRAYTON[3] TO GOVERNOR RUTLEDGE.[4]

[ACTS OF CONGRESS OF THE 5-7 MAY, 1779, IN AID OF S. C. AND GEORGIA.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May 7, 1779.*

SIR.

It is with the highest pleasure we transmit to your Excellency a copy of the Acts of Congress of the 5th & this day, in aid of South Carolina and Georgia, upon the Report of the Committee made on the 5th upon the letter of the 5th of April from Lieut. Governor Bee.

A necessary application to the Commander in Chief upon the subject of this business, has prevented its being sooner finished. (And except in the instance of an application in January last by Mr. Drayton for the march of the North Carolina troops and the sailing of a naval force to

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[3] William Drayton, a lawyer by profession, was a South Carolinian, having been born in that State in 1733. He was Associate Justice of the State and later the first U. S. judge for the district of South Carolina. He died in 1790.

[4] Edward Rutledge was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1749; educated in England; practiced law in his native city; a member of the Continental Congress; an officer in the Continental army; lived for some time in Philadelphia; returned to Charleston; elected Governor in 1798. He died on January 23, 1800.

South Carolina & Georgia, Congress have cheerfully adopted every measure in their power which has been advised for the aid of those States.)

The pressing calls from the main army, for military stores by a certain and short day, still prevents our being able to send off those destined for South Carolina: we hope, that within ten days, they will be sent forward.

We have the honor to be
Sir,
Your Excellency's most
obedt. & most humble servants

His Excellency
John Rutledge Esqr.

Mr. Laurens having desired me to pen a public letter from the Delegates of South Carolina in consequence of the Acts of Congress of the 5 & 7, May, in aid of South Carolina & Georgia, I, William Henry Drayton, draughted the above: & offered it to Mr. Laurens for his signature. He objected to the second period in the second paragraph saying, Congress had not done so· & that as we were not called upon to say anything on that subject, he did not chose to say anything at present. I answered, that I had inserted that period, because I thought it stated facts, which should be known in Carolina, as Mr. S. Adams had informed me, that he had been informed from S. Carolina, that a different idea was entertained there which was injurious to Congress & had desired me to place the matter in its true point of view, & that he had mentioned the same circumstances to him, Mr. Laurens.

Mr. Laurens persisting in his objection to that period in the public letter, I wrote over a copy of that letter verbatim, leaving out the period objected to, & it was signed by Mr. Laurens & myself.

However, in order to remove improper ideas respecting the conduct of Congress in aid of S. Carolina & Georgia,

I think it is proper to desire a few members of Congress competent to the subject, to sign this paper if they think the period objected to is a proper state of circumstances.

R. TROUP[5] TO JAMES DUANE.

[THE EXORBITANT COST OF LIVING; LEGISLATURE OF GEORGIA ORGANIZED; ENEMY INACTIVE AT AUGUSTA; ALARMING STATE OF THE TREASURY.]

PHILADELPHIA, *February 10, 1780.*

MY DEAR FRIEND

I have recd. your kind and affectionate letter of the 15th ult. by Dr. Treat, and am very much obliged by your assurances of Regard for me. The Regard of Men who stand high in the Opinion of their Country is one of the most refined pleasures I wish to enjoy: it more than compensates for the loss of my Estate which I have expended in the public service, and lessens the anxiety I feel at the melancholy Prospect of being separated, during Life, from all my nearest Relatives. Among these I am almost persuaded to rank you from the generous Part you have taken in my Distresses, and I solemnly declare there is no Person on Earth whose Happiness I more fervently pray for.

As long as I am influenced by virtuous motives I hope to be indulged with your Friendly Services which will con-

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[5] Robert Troup was born in New York City in 1757. He was graduated at Columbia and afterwards studied law under John Jay. In 1776 he joined the Revolutionary army as lieutenant and on being captured by the enemy, he was a prisoner in the famous "Jersey prison ship." In 1778 he was appointed by Congress "Secretary to the board of war." Later he became judge of the U. S. district court of N. Y., and a member of the Assembly of this State. He died in 1832.

tribute, in no small Degree, to render me useful to Mankind.

These Reflections I intend as an Introduction to a story that I shall relate with Reluctance because it will wound your sensibility.

My expectations of a decent Support while in the Treasury have been cruelly disappointed and I have been constrained to resign my Office. The exorbitant Prices which have been & still are created for all necessaries made it unavoidable for me to draw 9500 Dollars, and no more than 500 actually remain out of my yearly salary for my subsistence till the 30th of May next. These 9500 Dollars have been applied to defray the Expenses of my Board except a trifle I laid out in buying three shirts six Pair of stockings, a Hat and six pair of shoes. My other Cloths are such as Decency required & tho insignificant in number I have been reduced to the Misfortune of paying for them out of my private Purse. When I came to Philadelphia last Spring, you recollect I was destitute of a Change of everything. My all was literally on my Back. In this Situation I purchased a few articles of Summer Dress; and have since been accommodating my Purchases to the Seasons with the most rigid Oconomy. These Circumstances, added to the Insufficiency of my Salary, induced me, a short time ago, to request a warrant in my Favor which was refused upon the narrowest Principle. "You have already drawn 2800 Dollars more than your "salary to this Day entitles you to, and no advances will "or can be made," was the answer of the Board. Thus finding that I had only 500 Dollars to support me till summer, and that I was obliged to sell to the Amount of 5000 Dollars in Certificates to pay for my Cloths, I thought it best to resign & retire into the Country to prosecute my studies in the Law. I communicated my Intention to

Chancellor Livingston and all my friends before resigned & they recommended the measure—Congress were desirous of keeping me in Service but as they gave me no Reason to expect an Increase of salary I prevailed upon them to accept my Resignation the Day before Yesterday.

As you were kind enough to procure me the Appointment I am particularly desirous of explaining to you my Reasons for resigning it; and I beg you to believe I did it after the most deliberate Reflection. I saw nothing but Ruin before me. My time, both by Day & Night, was so wholly absorbed in the Business of the Office that it was impossible for me to devote any Part of it to Study. Besides the Remainder of my little Fortune was melting away & I was in danger of becoming a Pensioner upon the Caprice & Bounty of a few Men for a scanty Maintenance. Such a state would be abhorrent to my Feelings. Experience will teach us that a Man who looks up to his office alone for support must have an uncommon share of Integrity if he avoids those despicable Practices which characterize the servile cringing Sycophant.

I have now no other Resource left but the study of the Law which I was always attached to. I propose to study with Mr. Stockton at Princeton who has offered me the use of his office in the politest terms imaginable. At Princeton I shall live cheap and retired from the Amusements as well as the Bustle of the world. I mean to be eminent and am determined to be indefatigable.

I am but slightly acquainted with Mr. Stockton and wish to let him know that I am esteemed by the principal gentleman of the State of New York. This information might induce him to be more attentive to my Improvement, & might serve me essentially in many other Respects.

Permit me therefore to solicit a letter of Recommendation from you to him in which I beg you to notice my char-

acter in New York before the War. For this Trouble you are indebted to the Goodness of your Disposition and the frequent opportunities you have taken to give me Proofs of your Friendship. If you do not expect to be in Philadelphia soon pray inclose me the letter by the first safe opportunity. I shall stay in Town, about three weeks longer, to perfect myself in the French language, which I begin to get a tolerable Idea of: after this I shall go to Princeton and shut myself up in the Cave of a Hermit.

I am very glad to hear that you published a short Piece in Hott's(?) Paper to justify your Conduct in the first Congress. It is time justification was unnecessary if confined to the Circle of your Acquaintance; but it will answer good Purposes with the world at large. Charges of such a nature when suffered to pass without notice tend to deceive the credulous and afford the malicious imaginary Causes of Triumph.

For these Reasons I was anxious to see some Remarks on that Part of Galloway's Examination which respects you; and I am happy that my anxiety is removed. But by removing my Anxiety you have raised my Curiosity. The paper you mention has never fallen into my hands & I must request to be favored with it as soon as convenient.

I congratulate you sincerely upon finishing the State of our Claim to the New Hampshire Grants.

This is a matter of the last consequence to the State; and I think we are infinitely indebted to you for undertaking such a laborious Task. It is high Time that all the Papers & Documents to support our Title should be transmitted to Philadelphia as some time has elapsed since the Day appointed for considering them. You certainly ought to be here. Chittenden & several more from the Grants are straining every nerve to carry their Point; and they seem to be treated with great cordiality by some members of Con-

gress. *Auri* or rather *Agrisacra Fames quid non mortalia Pictoria cogis?*

I now come to news the strangest of which is that I have nothing to tell you—The severity of the weather has effectually shut every Door of Intelligence. A few days ago Congrss recd. Dispatches from Georgia dated the middle of December & of Course they contained very little news.

The most & I believe the only material Information was that the Legislature of Georgia was again organized & that they had appointed Delegates to Congress. Young George Walton was their Governor & it appears that all the Reports to his Prejudice were untrue. The Enemy remained altogether inactive at Augusta, and were waiting impatiently for Clinton's Reinforcement which we have some Reason to hope was not destined to the South Carolina or Georgia, as we have no accounts of it yet. Georgia seems to be roused from its lethargy and is determined to perish but in the general wreck of the liberty of America. The State of the Treasury is alarming—There are no more than one million two hundred thousand Dollars of the whole two hundred million which remain to be appropriated. All the Presses have been stopt for several weeks past, and Congress mean to adhere strictly to their Resolution passed in the Fall.

How we are to raise supplies in future is a Question of the greatest moment. Taxes are collected slowly in every state—Loans diminish instead of increasing—and public Credit is nearly exhausted—Applications of the most serious nature are made from every Department in the Army & we can scarcely supply them with sufficient sums to keep the Army together.

Congress have the state of the Army now in Consideration both with Respect to augmenting and feeding it for the next Campaign. It is proposed to call upon the different states to tax in Kind & the Proportion of each is to be fixed

in its own Produce. This plan will be attended with good Consequences & I have no Doubt but it will be adopted.

Not a single Bill either in Spain or Holland has been sold, and the Terms are so disadvantageous that they never will be sold unless they are altered. The Purchaser besides giving 25 for 1 is to deposit a sum on loan equal to the Purchase money of the Bill—A few of these Bills have been disposed of to pay public Debts & this is the only use that can be made of them. There is much Harmony in Congress but great want of abilities. In my opinion America never was so weakly represented as at present, & if Providence does not miraculously interpose I am sure our *collected wisdom* will exert itself in vain to remove the Difficulties which lie before us—My Compls to all Friends.

In great Haste I am,
My dear Friend
Yours, &c
ROB. TROUP.

P. S.

I send you a large Bundle of News Papers & the Journals of Congress from August to January which is as far as they are printed. Dr. Treat promises me to take good care of them & deliver them to you either at the Manor or Albany—In future I shall be more cautious of the Persons I trust my letters to: I am sensible that great abuses are committed.

I am intimate with Mr. Swift's & Mr. Coxe's Families at Sunbury on the Shanning(?) & have been there several Tmes since you left Philadelphia. They always inquire after you in the most friendly manner & have a sincere esteem for you.

I would be happy to meet you there if you could previously inform me of the Time. Pray do it.

R. TROUP.

Th. Johnson[6] to James Duane.

[Tribute to Carroll; Compromise; Spanish Alliance; War Affairs.]

Annapolis *3rd Feby. 1781.*

My dear Sir.

Imagining it may give you some satisfaction to hear that I am still in the Land of the Living I take this Opportunity by Mr. Daniel Carroll: you will soon discover in him qualities which command Esteem and Affection though they are not hung so much out to view as inferior ware often is by other men. His carrying our solemn act for Confederation will make him, I suppose, very welcome in your body. We have sacrificed, in the language of 75, much of our Right according to our Idea, to comply with the earnest Desires of the other States, may it have the wished Effect on our Friends the Spaniards and our Enemies. If the States, who have claims on the Back Country behave with moderation we may expect to see a Cordiality prevail which would be the occasion of most extensive advantages and the lasting happiness of the whole.

I have understood his Catholic Majesty is desirous of having the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi. I cannot see why we might not agree to it. What advantage can a navigation down the river be? Will it not if practised, drain the country of men. I wish we may not by our over tenaciousness for distant and problematical advantages,

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[6] Thomas Johnson was born in Calvert county, Md., Nov. 4, 1732, and died in Frederick county of the same State, Oct. 25, 1819. He was a lawyer and very active in public life. He nominated George Washington to be the Commander-in-chief of the army. He was thrice Governor of Maryland. He was a member of the Maryland convention of 1789 to ratify the constitution of the United States. He was appointed chief judge of the general court of Maryland and was associate justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S. He was offered the chief justiceship by Washington, but declined. He was a commissioner to lay out the city of Washington.

loose those which are immediate certain and necessary. A Spanish alliance and more French Troops would bring about Peace and perhaps soon. If the French should not take a post in the Bay and matters should remain pretty much on a Ballance, in the course of the Spring and Summer I shall expect Virginia and Maryland will begin to be harassed. The enemy seem now to be on the plan which I was so apprehensive of in 1775 and some of the Virginia Gentlemen so much despised. Arnold with 16 or 1800 can keep 10,000 Virginians and Marylanders in motion and do us immense Damage with very little Danger to himself.

I thought just to have wrote you a line but I find myself in the very midst of Politicks. I am told you keep up your attention to the principal parts of the Business, I wonder that you should be able to stand it.

I am my dear sir
With great Truth and Affection
Your most obedt.
TH. JOHNSON.

NEGRO COLONIZATION.

From Doolittle Correspondence.

[The copies of letters from Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, from E. O. Crosby, residing in Gautemala, and from Aben Hansen, at that time in Monravia, Liberia, West Coast of Africa, are submitted as giving some interesting data concerning the colonization of the colored people. This was a scheme which was near and dear to the late Senator Doolittle. And it was doubtless this fact that induced Mr. Crosby to write so fully of his efforts in furthering an experiment with a small colony of negroes in the Central American country.

Senator Pomeroy's letter has additional interest from an historical point of view. I presume the immediate "pioneer party" to which he refers with so much apparent enthusiasm, never materialized. And why it did not might be an interesting subject for historical investigation.

I presume the letter referred to by Senator Pomeroy in his of Oct. 20, 1862, following, as from Mr. Crosby, was another than the one herewith submitted.

The letter from Aben Hansen is worthy of careful perusal as coming from a very intelligent person and one who could talk with some degree of authority of the condition in Africa at the time mentioned.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Duane Mowry.]

[I. Pomeroy to Senator Doolittle.]

Washington, D. C.,
Oct. 20th, 1862.

Senator Doolittle.

My Dear Friend: I have just returned from Kansas and find your letter & the inclosed letter of Mr. Crosby's with a large pile of other's that had accumulated during my absence—I was glad to read both—and have taken a copy of the inclosed—

You judge rightly, when you say I have "been occupied." In fact I've felt I was doing *your work.* For the Credit of this Colonization Enterprise—belongs to you—more than to any other man in Congress—Your Speech in reply to

Senator Hale—will long be remembered by me—even if Hale forgets it— And your other efforts in the same direction—are *worthy of all praise.* I have had to separate—and quarrel with my old & valued friends— For since our conversation in the Senate—*I have studied the question.*—I am in earnest—and cannot *trifle* with the subject. I can state the difference between myself—and my radical friends. They want the freedom of the Col'd Man—and are satisfied with that. I want for him something more than *that*— To be a *free laborer*—and *only that.* is not his manhood. I want for him the *rights* & *enjoyments*—of a *free man*— Can he secure them with the white Man—What are the teachings of 250 years of history! Only this. that the free col'd men of the free States—are doomed to a life of *free servile labor*—without *even the hope* of equal participation with us in the Government—either for themselves or those who come after them— No hope of elevation in the opening future! Its one peg above slavery, I admit, but *only* one—

Now if his full rights & privileges cannot be secured here—what is *his,* and our duty. why—to place him where *they can be!* Our fathers, left the mother country, under a *load* of *persecution.* They went down into the Mayflower and came up on Plymouth Rock: God and mankind approved the act—I am for the Negro's securing his rights and his *nationality*—in the clime of his nativity—on the soil of the Tropics—and God speed the day!!

I have 13,700 application to go—I have selected of them 500——for a pioneer party—Vessel & outfit provided[1]—(and am "suspended" by Mr. Seward!! I have the consent of the Government of New. Granada. and of the Central Gov. of the U. S. of Columbia—no "protests" have been entered by either Government or people—from *that Coun-*

[1]If you make any use of this letter—*keep back all in this parenthesis*—

try) I wish you were here to help me— The expidition will be delayed until Spring—unless a *move can be made.* I had my appointment—and letter of instruction—and have *fulfilled* on my part—I long to start—But *am held back!*

Nothing can save the President—nothing our cause in the border States—and I think nothing will restore this Union—but a probable solution of [the]problem—*"what shall be the destiny of the col'd Races on this Continent."*

You are entitled to great credit for your labors in this work hitherto— The eyes of thousands are now turned to you in this hour of our delay & suspense.—The verdict of your people—I trust is for you—as the nation will ere long honor you—

Truly
S. C. Pomeroy.

[2. Crosby to Senator Doolittle.]

Gautemala, *November 20th, 1861.*

Hon'l J. R. Doolittle,
U. S. Senator, &c., &c.

Dear Sir:—

I wrote you last June soon after my arrival and reception in Gautemala detailing the state of things as they then appeared to me, but I have received no reply or word from you whatever. This I attribute to the great pressure that must be upon you as well as all others engaged in administering our Gov't during these trying times. I pray daily without doubting that you and all others engaged in preserving *entire* our country and its nationality under our Govt. as it has been given us by our fathers may be sustained and strengthened by wisdom from on high—the author of all our blessings.

I must again write you a short letter of the affairs of this country without apology for the intrusion.

In respect to the colonization scheme of which we used to speak, I am as fully impressed with its advantages as ever, and I have made some good progress towards its consummation in this country, or rather in the Republic of Gautemala (for I have no jurisdiction beyond its limits).

I brought the subject to the notice of his Excellency, Prest. Rafael Carrena as soon as was prudent after my reception, and also other gentlemen of influence in the Govt. They at first regarded the matter with hesitancy, but it seemed more attractive after discussion by them.

In July, His Excellency sent me a private note, unofficial, tendering a large Hacienda of many thousand acres belonging to him personally, offering to place it at the disposition of a colonization experiment. This he proposed to begin with, and he expressed himself well disposed to favour a more extended emigration, if found advisable.

I advised Mr. Blair of this and requested that our friends get fifty or a hundred families to come here as soon as they could be sent, and I would myself see to their being established. The President proposed to give to each family a town lot of from two to six acres, according to its size, in full property to give them the right to cut timber for building and fencing, and then assign them farm lands as much in extent as they could cultivate properly. He also said he would see them provided with work at the usual rates whenever they desired to hire out. These wages are for farm hands ten to twelve and fourteen dollars a month. He also said he would have them provided with supplies on landing and until they could earn or raise for themselves. All this I deemed liberal and as much as I could ask, especially, to begin with.

Since that time others have offered lands for their settlement and I think the idea is becoming more popular.

Every right and privilege is guaranteed to them that is given to their own people. And if the first emigration

proves to be of a useful class, then they will extend to them whatever territory they may require for tens of thousands, or as many as may wish to come.

The Hacienda of the President is on the South or Pacific coast, and to reach it most easily is for the emigrants to come via Panama. If a large emigration were to set in, these lands would be assigned on the North coast in the vicinity of British Belize, landing them at the mouth of the Rio Dolce at the little town of Livingston, and settling them on that stream and around the Lake Isabel.

The samples of cotton raised on the President's Hacienda, which I sent to N. Y. in Sept., is reported by David Hoadley, Esquire, Prest. of the Panama R. R. Co., to be worth at that time $25 the hundred pounds, or a quarter of a dollar a pound. Coffee and sugar can also grow to the highest state of perfection. The climate is as healthy as the most favored of the tropics. I desire much to hear from you and to know if any thing can be done in this matter at the present time. Persons who are "contrabands" in the U. S. become citizens here, provided they behave and show any capacity to enjoy such privileges.

I have been, generally, very well, yet sometimes the tropical climate tells upon me, with all the prudence I can use. Some time and risk must always be taken to get acclimated here. This season has been unusually rainy and consequently more sickly than usual.

Present my very respectful compliments to your estimable lady, with my best wishes for the health and happiness of all your family.

Very truly your friend
and obt. serv't,
E. O. Crosby.

Please to say to Hon'l Preston King, that I wrote him also and am without reply. Please to present him my very kind wishes, as I regard him as one of the best men living, and feel honored to be enabled to consider him my friend.

[3. Hansen to Senator Doolittle.]

Monravia, Liberia, W. C. of Africa,
April 30th, 1863.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle,
U. S. Senator, &c., &c.

Dear Sir:—

An opportunity offers by the departure from this port of the Brig "Ann" for New York, to send you a line.

I wish to inform you of my welfare. From the time of my arrival on this coast, Aug. 16, '62, until Feb. 22nd, '63, I was free from disease. On the date last mentioned the African fever attacked me in a mild form, but, passing over the intervals, I have to state that on the 13th inst., I bowed my head under the third and most fierce and terrible visitation of that dreadful malady. By the mercy of our Father in heaven I have been restored from a state of physical prostration, so extreme, that two physicians pronounced recovery doubtful. I am daily gaining strength, and, after confinement to the house for 18 days, it will be refreshing, in a day or two, to get out and inhale the *balmy* air.

I do not regret coming to Liberia. As a promising field of useful toil—to a man of correct principles and humane and generous sympathies,—it is all that I conceived it to be. True, a residence here involves sacrifices which I will not now enumerate, but there is not a place on earth, I apprehend, where work of this nature is to be done which does not call for some sort of self-denial. Hence, I do not utter a complaint.

The question of my remaining here is one which I cannot yet settle. The conviction that I had a constitutional adaptation to this climate has been somewhat shaken, and now the judgment of intelligent friends here would induce the conclusion that my stay must be brief. There is one point which is settled to my satisfaction, i. e., I cannot con-

sistently remain at my present salary. The bills of physicians, unavoidable contingent and regular personal expenses, will fully absorb my $1,000.00 per annum, besides which, I have a family at home. From the comparative indigence of this people, there is scarcely any one who will move a step, or raise a hand for the sick, the dying, or the dead without exorbitant pay, and the white man, above all others, must become tributary to their numerous wants. The more intelligent and independent class do not usually engage in these acts of kindness and ministration to the sick-sojourner, which are so freely bestowed by our people at home. Hence, you can see that the hireling must be called in. I make some allowance for this state of things upon the ground that our general treatment of this race of people has been such as to impose restraint upon them, and now, under the most inviting circumstances, they are not entirely free from diffidence and distrust. Another palliating consideration is that the unreasonable profits made by white merchants upon provisions and other commodities brought to this coast, drives them (the citizens of Liberia) to charge, for work done, or service rendered, prices that are above, and contrary, to all reason.

I have intimated, in plain terms in a special dispatch upon the subject to the Department of State, my utter inability to meet my expenses from my salary. I have explained that engaging in trade, in addition to my official relation, would seriously interfere with my efficiency as a servant of my government, and, in consequence of my being confined to one place, might result very disastrously to myself. I have also said that one person, invested with proper functions, can, for some time to come, represent our government at this court, and perform all the consular and other duties; and thus he might be placed upon a scale of support which would afford full indemnity for comfortable maintenance, leaving out of the question the expenses of

transit and the great risk of life, &c., &c. Thus I have done all that self-respect will allow for the purpose of inducing a change.

Please do not regard the foregoing as indicating a desire to have you assume any more perplexing care on my account. I have no doubt but you have done for me or for Liberia, all that consistency would allow. I will venture to express this wish, viz: That some action may be taken in regard to Liberia—that since our Gov't has decided to open diplomatic intercourse and the appropriation of $4,000, has been made for one year's salary of a commissioner, this may not all remain a dead letter. Hayti and Liberia have been associated in the act of recognition. All the provisions in regard to Hayti have been carried out—not *one in* regard to Liberia, except the ratification of a treaty of Friendship & Commerce, and even of that, your agent here has not had the slightest official intimation. Liberia has her Consul General in the U. S. Our government has only a commercial agent in Liberia, with no legitimate authority to communicate directly with the Liberian governm't.

I beg you will not understand me as pleading for myself. I am anxious that my government should be consistent, and that proper respect should be accorded to Liberia. If the wisdom of the Dept. of State selects and appoints some other person than myself to fill the offices here it will be one of the most cheerful acts of my life to retire and return home.

I have fallen upon an unexpected topic in this communication. Pardon me! And now let me say that for Africans and their descendants, Liberia—expanding as she is—presents a rich inheritance, sacredly set apart and carefully guarded by an inscrutibly mysterious providence for their possession and enjoyment. A correct knowledge of inexhaustible resources, its free institutions and its glorious destiny, it seems to me is all that is needed to induce hundreds

of thousands of the colored population of the U. S. to flock eagerly to these shores. The climate is generally salubrious, the temperature remarkably uniform. I have not observed a variation day or night, since January 1st, of more than five to seven degrees, the thermometer ranging not higher than eighty-five or eighty-seven degrees Far. in the shade; and during the rainy season ending about Dec. 1st, '62, I never saw the thermometer below sixty degrees Far. The soil is luxuriant, vegetation starts up as if by magic, fruit, bountiful and ripe drops on the ground. The trees are clothed in perpetual verdure. Majestic rivers and magnificent landscapes cover the face of the country. Sugar and coffee plantations greet the eye on the banks of the St. Paul's, St. John's, and other rivers, and in every settlement, encouraging omens are to be seen in all directions, and the inexplicable wonder to me is, that with all the agencies and facilities of the Colonization Societies of the U. States for diffusing information among the colored people of America; with all the means within reach of our government of becoming acquainted with the wealth and grandeur of this land, the people interested, or the government should spend time in looking for another home. Do they not believe what is told them?

But I must close. Physical debility will not allow me to indulge in long letters. May I not hope to have a few lines from you? The Brig "Ann" will be in New York in two or three weeks after you receive this, and any communication for me sent to the care of Yates & Porterfield, 115 Wall St., New York, will be cheerfully brought out by Captain Yates, a right loyal, Union loving man.

Do not think that because I have not dealt upon the condition of our beloved country I am, therefore, uninformed, or uninterested. It is the subject of my anxious thought and earnest solicitude, by day and by night. But it is a

subject upon which I cannot tell you anything—your heart is full of it.

With kind remembrances to all friends, I am, with great respect and sincere gratitude,

Yours Obediently,

ABEN HANSEN.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

[The following are condensed from the biographical sketches by Chas. E. Taylor, appearing in the *Wake Forest Student*, N. C., October, 1905. They are, as he states, brief biographies of some of the ministers who have been prominent in the making of North Carolina Baptist history.]

Robert Thomas, the fifth son of Samuel and Eliza T. Daniel, was born June 10, 1773, in Middlesex County, Va. After the Revolution the family moved to Orange County, N. C., where Robert Thomas was brought up as a blacksmith and a cabinet maker. On March 1, 1796, he married Miss Penelope Flowers, of Chatham County. In 1802 he joined the Baptist Church and in eleven months he was ordained to preach. From that time he expended his fortune and his life in the duties of the ministry. He was full of the revival spirit, and traveled over sixty thousand miles over the States of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Mississippi, preaching the gospel. In Raleigh, in 1812, he published Daniel's Selections, a book of 280 pages, containing a number of hymns and spiritual songs, thirty-eight of the hymns being composed by himself. He died in Paris, Tenn., on October 14, 1840.

Elder W. Hooper, D. D., LL.D., died at the residence of his son-in-law, Prof. J. DeB. Hooper, at Chapel Hill, on the 17th of August, 1876(?), aged 84 years. Dr. Hooper bore a name which holds an honorable place in the history of North Carolina. His grandfather was one of the signers of the National Declaration of Independence. The grandson was a fit representative of him. Entering the University, at an early age, he was graduated with distinction and afterwards filled the chair of Ancient Languages for a number of years. He held a similar position in the University

of South Carolina for some time, and taught in the Baptist Theological Institution of that State. In those days he took rank among the most eminent linguists in the country.

He had been reared an Episcopalian, but while he was Professor in the University at Chapel Hill he became a Baptist. For a number of years he took a lively interest in the work of the denomination, especially in its educational enterprises. He was a member of the committee appointed to select a location and devise plans for Wake Forest College. A few years later he accepted the prisidency of the College, but soon resigned. He was later President of the Baptist Female Institute at Murfreesboro.

John Kerr was born August 4, 1782, in Caswell County, North Carolina, just after Cornwallis' march through that section. When he grew up he became a school teacher, but in 1801 he left that profession to become a preacher in the Baptist Church. The most of his work was done in North and South Carolina and Virginia. He spoke with great fervor and was a force in the church. Subsequent to 1811 he occupied a seat in Congress for several years. In 1825 he was called to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church in Richmond, Va., which post he filled until 1833, when he resigned to become an evangelist. For many years he was President of the General Association of Virginia. He died September 29, 1842.

William T. Brooks was born in Chatham County, North Carolina, December 9, 1809. He was baptized into the Baptist Church in September, 1832. In 1835 he was ordained to preach and that same year he entered Wake Forest Institute in North Carolina, from which college he was graduated in 1839, being a member of the first class going out from the college with diplomas. He later became a professor in the college, and after his resignation, was for a long

time President of the Board of Trustees. In 1869 he was elected president of the Baptist State Convention. He was pastor of Mount Vernon Church in Wake County for thirty years, and was also pastor of other churches. He died on January 16, 1883, at Wake Forest College, which had been his home for many years.

Elder William Phillips Biddle was born in Princess Anne County, Virginia, January 7, 1788. When a young man he entered business at London Bridge, but his mind became impressed with religious truth and he began to preach. He was ordained as Baptist minister in 1808. He traveled extensively in the eastern parts of Virginia and North Carolina. On February 10, 1810, he married Miss Mary Nixon, of Craven County, N. C. Shortly after this he moved to a farm, where he lived the rest of his life. Besides the care of his land, he had charge of four churches. Elder Biddle was for several years President of the Baptist State Convention, and he also served upon the Board of Trustees of the Wake Forest College. He died on August 8, 1853.

Rev. William Hill Jordan was born in Bertie County, North Carolina, August 15, 1803. Was educated at Chapel Hill and baptized into the Baptist Church in 1824. Besides serving a number of churches in the country, he was pastor of churches in Raleigh, Wilmington, Lilesville and Wadesboro, N. C., Clarksville and Petersburg, Va., Norristown, Pa., and Sumter, S. C. He was for a long time Corresponding Secretary of the Baptist State Convention, and twice agent for Wake Forest College, giving his time and money to help it in financial difficulties. He died at Oxford on October 12, 1883.

Gano, Vanhorne and Miller were New Jersey preachers, but the course of Baptist history was so influenced and

changed by them that they merit mention. In May, 1755, Elder John Gano (properly Gerneaux), visited Bertie (now Warren) County, N. C., and from there sent a report to the Philadelphia Association at their meeting the fall of that year, setting forth the unconverted condition of the church there. The Association sent three elders to look into the state of affairs and do what they could to better it. The mission was attended with happy results, and through the instrumentality of Vanhorne and Miller the greater part of the churches became "Regular Baptists."

Enoch Crutchfield was born April 20, 1805, near Hillsboro, North Carolina. At the age of 18 years, he was baptized into the Baptist Church by Elder W. W. Farthing, with whom he at once began to travel and to exercise his gifts in exhorting, praying and singing. He entered the ministry in 1827. Elder Crutchfield was married four times and had a large family of children. He died in Randolph County on June 1, 1885.

Of the early life of Jacob Crocker, Sr., nothing is now known. At some time during the last quarter of the eighteenth century he was converted and called into the ministry. Elder Crocker was the means of building up several churches and his influence is felt to this day. He died about 1791.

David Barrow was born in Brunswick County, Virginia, in 1753. In his nineteenth year he was married and in his twenty-second year he was ordained. His influence was felt mainly in Virginia, Kentucky and North Carolina. In 1797 he removed to Kentucky, where he continued his labors until his death, about the year 1814.

Elder Abbott was the son of the Rev. John Abbott, Canon

of St. Paul's, London. He left England while young without the consent or knowledge of his parents and came to America. He was teacher until converted and called to the ministry. He had great ability as a statesman and was several times elected to State conventions. He was a member of the Provincial Congress which adopted the State Constitution of North Carolina and was also a member of the convention which deliberated upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution. He died in May, 1791.

John Asplund, born in Sweden, educated for mercantile pursuits, a clerk in England, a sailor in the British navy, he at length settled in Eastern North Carolina. About 1782 he was converted, entered the Baptist Church in Chowan County. His life was spent as an itinerate, traveling through the northern part of Europe and the United States preaching and collecting material on the history of the Baptist Church. He published a small volume on the subject in 1791 and another in 1795. "Asplund's Registers" are accepted as reliable and the little volumes are now worth almost their weight in gold, being very rare. In 1807 he was drowned while trying to cross Fishing Creek, Virginia.

James Delke was a North Carolina preacher of wonderful power. He was in appearance a plain, swarthy countryman, but Mr. Charles E. Taylor tells of at least one notable event when his audience forgot his appearance and were lost in the sermon he uttered. It was in 1854 at some associational gathering in the Baptist Church of Portsmouth, Va.

Lemuel Burkitt, the son of Thomas and Mary Burkitt, was born near Edenton, April 26, 1750. His parents were religious people and Burkitt's young life was spent under a good influence. He was baptized when twenty years of age

and in two months began to preach. In two years he was ordained and entered upon the pastorate of Sandy Run, a church in Bertie, which place he held through life. Few have equalled him for labor and success in the work of the church. When over fifty years of age he heard of a wonderful revival of religion in Tennessee and Kentucky. He set out to confirm the reports and crossed the mountains to reach those States. He came back full of zeal, and from his preaching a great revival spread. During the Revolution he was loyal to the Colonists, and represented his people in Provincial Congresses, including that which adopted the State Constitution. He was also a member of the Convention that rejected the Federal Constitution in 1789. He was also the author of a hymn book, and in collaboration with Elder Jesse Reed, a History of the Kehukee Association, published at Edenton in 1803. This last is said to have been the first book ever published in North Carolina concerning the State's history. It is of great value. Elder Burkitt died on the 5th of November, 1807.

REVIEWS.

LYNCH-LAW. By James Elbert Cutler, Ph. D. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905. O. pp. xiv+287. Cloth.

The point of view of the author of this excellent volume is that of a student of society and social phenomena. His purpose has not been primarily to write the history of lynching, "but to determine from the history the causes for the prevalence of the practice, to determine what the social conditions are under which lynch-law operates, and to test the solidity of the arguments which have been advanced in justification of lynching."

Lynch law is found to be derived from Col. Charles Lynch, of Virginia, who in the days of the Revolution was in the habit of tying Tories to trees and giving them 39 lashes. Its first meaning was to whip severely and without due process of law, and this meaning continued in use till the time of the Civil war. Since then lynchings have increased greatly in number and in severity of punishment. They are not however a post bellum product, for many instances are cited of persons being put to death by mobs prior to that date. A number of tables, based on the statistics of lynchings given in the Chicago *Tribune,* 1882-1903, show the sections, the causes and the color of the victims. It is interesting to note that for the 22 years under consideration the negroes lynched for rape represent only 34 per cent. of the whole and that this crime shows a steadily decreasing ratio to the total number of lynchings. This would seem to indicate that the execution of negroes for this crime has led to less regard for the lives of other criminals. There is a discussion of the justification of lynching, a consideration of remedies which touches nothing but the legal side of the

matter and an examination into the underlying reasons for the lynching habit which is a peculiarly American form of lawlessness. Plausible explanation of its existence in America only is the different point of view from which the law is considered here. In European countries the law is regarded as a most sacred institution. In America as it comes from the people and is executed by their chosen agents, it has none of that sanctity and when taken out of the hands of its duly appointed officers but reverts into those who are the source of all power. The study is conducted in a rigidly scientific spirit and is entirely free from all partisan bias.

THE AFTERMATH OF SLAVERY. A study of the condition and environment of the American negro. By William A. Sinclair, A. M., M. D., with an introduction by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, LL. D. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., MCMV, pp. xiii, 358.

This book is valuable as presenting a point of view and following a line of discussion, in striking contrast to the utterances of Booker T. Washington. Apparently it may be put down as a semi-official deliverance of the radical school of negro thought, a school of which the American people are likely to hear more as time passes and the line of cleavage between its exponents and the conservative becomes more pronounced.

Dr. Washington preaches the gospel of industrialism, urging that the paramount consideration for the negro is the acquisition of property and the building up of homes. Dr. Sinclair says (p. 104): "The ballot in the hands of the colored man—this is the crux of the Southern problem." He recounts the "achievements of the colored race," and thus pays his respects to the Washington idea (p. 264): "Emphasis on industrial education would have circumscribed the mental vision, limited the aspirations, narrowed the ambitions, stunted all higher and broader growth, and held

the race close down to the lines of hewers of wood and drawers of water." Four chapters, running from page 74 to page 214, are devoted to matters almost purely political; "Southern Opposition to Reconstruction," "The War on Negro Suffrage," "The False Alarm of Negro Domination" and "The Negro in Politics." These chapters constitute considerably more than one-third of the volume.

Dr. Sinclair's argument throughout is for such Federal intervention as will guarantee the negro a free hand in Southern politics. In presenting his case he shows that he has not risen superior to at least one weakness of the humbler members of his race, namely, an intense and overweening vanity. One is almost persuaded that Dr. Sinclair has proved too much for "a politically oppressed people." He says (p. 103): "It is not therefore, too much to say that the glory and the power of the republic to-day—the foremost and most powerful nation in the world—may be traced to the effective use of the negro as a soldier and as a voter in the most stormy and perilous hour of its existence." Again (p. 173): "The negro vote saved the country from the follies and crime of free silver, free trade and free riot." Dr. Sinclair also demonstrates to his entire satisfaction (pp. 171 to 174), that "the colored vote has proved a veritable godsend to the nation," and that it elected Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison and McKinley, and made Roosevelt Governor of New York.

The book is largely made up of extracts from newspapers and speeches, but in no case is means furnished for testing the accuracy of the quotation. The author seems to labor under the hallucination that the South is one great "secret, oathbound league," organized to systematically rob and murder and oppress the negro. Thus he says (p. 241): "The reactionists" (by which term he designates all those in political authority in the South, and their supporters) "through secret societies, on the order of the Ku Klux Klan,

are thoroughly organized. They can produce riots and lynchings as by clock-work. * * * * * When the leaders pass the word for the rioters to act—they act. When they say stop—the rioters stop. If they decide that a lesson must be taught and negroes must be lynched—lynching takes place. If they think that there is no particular need for lynching and the courts may act in a given case—the courts act. The white people can put down lynchings and curb riotings whenever and wherever they may make up their minds to do so."

If Dr. Sinclair really believes this sort of stuff· his case is hopeless. If he is merely writing for effect, he has overreached himself, with well balanced, well informed people, regardless of their section or sympathies. In a recent article Mr. Edward Atkinson has pronounced this a most remarkable book,—and we have no desire to take issue with the opinion.

The Southern people should acknowledge at least one debt to Dr. Sinclair,—he has pointed out their mistake, as to the Reconstruction era. There was no "Reconstruction," as the South understands the term. He says Georgia, Tennessee and Texas "were never under the so-called carpet-bag government," while Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia, Alabama, Arkansas and North Carolina "were so controlled for only a short time" (p. 89).

A thoughtful and painstaking study of the book leaves the impression that if this deliverance is really exponent of the views of any large number of negro leaders· there is small prospect of future accord between them and Southern white people. Those who are familiar with the situation, however, know that Dr. Sinclair is no more authorized to speak for the great mass of Southern negroes than is this or that sensational Southern white man authorized to speak for the mass of the Southern white people.

ALFRED HOYT STONE.

THE SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER, 1834-1864. By Benjamin Blake Minor, LL. D. New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1905. O. pp. 252. Cloth, $2.

This is a bibliographical history, arranged in strictly chronological form, of the South's longest lived and best known literary periodical. Founded in 1834 by Thomas W. White, in Richmond, the *Southern Literary Messenger* was of the South and for the South, but it was hardly less of the United States and for the United States, since many authors from the northern and eastern sections, including Park Benjamin, Mrs. Sigourney, Burritt, Willis, Longfellow, Griswold, Read, Holland and Stoddard made contributions to its pages. Before the founding of the *Atlantic Monthly* it was preëminently the American literary magazine. It suffered heavily from a too frequent succession of editors, but numbered among them Edgar A. Poe and Commodore Maury.

Dr. Minor has chosen to cast his history into the form of a series of running comments on the articles printed and on their authors. He takes up the volumes seriatim and the successive numbers one by one. It is hardly more than a series of tables of contents with appropriate comments and to this great mass of names there is no index save an appendix of contributors not alphabetically arranged and divided into northern and eastern, which is made to include Washington Allston and Charles F. Dunn, while the southern and western writers include W. T. Sherman! Of the wide influence of the *Messenger* on American letters in general not a word is said; there is little on its history in the narrower sense as a piece of book making, frequently under adverse and during the war almost impossible conditions; nor is there a bibliography of its separate numbers and volumes, a matter which would have been of much importance to librarians and collectors. Thus no hint is given as to the

irregular numbering of the later volumes nor as to the reason for the seeming omission of pp. 129-132 of volume II, Jan., 1836. These pages are missing in all numbers seen by the reviewer and an authoritative statement on this point would have been of value. There are ten half-tone portraits, including editors, publishers and contributors. Dr. Minor states the probable cost of a complete set of the *Messenger* at $150. The reviewer has never seen a set offered for sale. He would think the value of a complete set as nearly double those figures.

China in Law and Commerce. By T. R. Jernigan. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905. O. pp. vii+408, cloth.

All persons interested in the cotton manufactures of the South are urged to read the present volume by Mr. Jernigan, who has been U. S. Consul in Shanghai, and who is thoroughly competent to write on the commerce of China. If manufacturers would read the present volume they would find many reasons why they have met with relative failure in their efforts to build up trade relations and secure concessions for railroads, mining, etc., which have gone to continental bidders rather than Anglo-Americans. It is true that American imports have more than doubled in the decade ending in 1902, but those of Japan have increased 1,300 per cent. and those of England have fallen off some 20 per cent. English speaking dealers have not thought it worth while to study the language or the customs of the people to whom they are catering, they have thought they might ignore or defy custom in a land where custom has been unwritten law for thousands of years, and they have not thought it worth while to incur the expense of advertising unknown forms of goods among a quick and intelligent people who have an immense capacity for absorption. In the same way representatives of the American government must

be trained in Chinese diplomacy if they are not to be outwitted by the continental nations. Let me repeat that Americans seeking trade relations with China will serve their own interests by reading the instructive chapters on Guilds, which are just now looming up as enemies of American cotton goods, on business customs, banks, weights, measures and currency and the methods of transit, land, water and railway.

The chapter on railways is of value in particular as presenting an intelligent account of the Russians. Without indicating his political feeling, Mr. Jernigan pays a high tribute to their work in Manchuria, to the resistless energy and calm self-confidence with which they have gone about the self-imposed task of developing this great region. Contrary to the usual belief this author declares their railroad building to be among the best in the world.

The early chapters deal with the physical aspects of China, with government, law, family law, tenure and transfer of property, taxation, courts and extra-territoriality. The author brings out in an interesting way some of the many contrasts seen in Chinese life: Thus the Emperor is an absolute sovereign, but there is such great local autonomy that no imperial army can be formed; the Chinese have no word for liberty and yet under the form of custom they have rights and privileges which the Emperor does not dare ignore. They have court historians who dare tell the whole truth and while the writ of habeas corpus has been known since 927 A. D., an accused person is still under the necessity of proving himself innocent.

Altogether this volume is filled with matter interesting both to the general reader and to the scholar, is written by a thoughtful student on the ground and will put money into the pockets of American manufacturers if they will heed its precepts.

Captain Miles Standish. By Tudor Jenks. New York: The Century Co., 1905. O. viii+250.

This is a conventional history of the Pilgrim colony in the shape of a biography of Standish, one of its principal founders, a strong, silent character who was in the colony but not of it. There are many illustrations of matters connected with the life of Standish and of the colony.

The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740. By Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Raleigh, N. C.: Edwards & Broughton [1905]. D. pp. 252, 15 inset maps and plans, illus. and ports. For sale by the author at Salem, N. C., cloth, $1.50.

This is the story of a failure. It recounts the history of an attempt to found a Moravian colony in Georgia under the direction of Zinzendorf, Oglethorpe and the Trustees. But the German colonists who then came to America had none of the necessary qualifications of state builders. They were quietists and like the Quakers spent more time in reflecting on the inner life than in laying the necessary foundation of a colony. There were many domestic wrangles and in five years the majority had fled from the trials of frontier life in Georgia to the more developed province of Pennsylvania. Were it not for the influence which this body of Brethren exercised on John Wesley their coming would be without significance in American history. Miss Fries deserves commendation for the industry and zeal with which she has sought out the unprinted sources for the story of this colony. Her material "so far as it relates to the Moravian settlement, has been drawn entirely from the original manuscripts in the Archives of the Unitas Fratrum at Herrnhut, Germany, with some additions from the archives at Bethlehem, Pa., and Salem, N. C." The book is crowded with a mass of unimportant details, is without literary style or historical perspective.

THE SUFFRAGE FRANCHISE IN THE THIRTEEN ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA. By Albert Edward McKinley. Phila.: Univ. of Pa., 1905. O. pp. 518.

This is a very careful and detailed study by a sometime fellow in American history in the University of Pennsylvania of the conditions of suffrage in each of the thirteen colonies. These are taken seriatim and each is studied separately and independently from its colonial laws and other primary sources, secondary and later works in some colonies receiving no consideration and in others but little. As the author expresses it, his purpose has been to give "an account of the attempt in each colony to administer the English theories of election and representation under widely different conditions from those which held good in the England colonial days. We shall trace the influence of cheap land, of religious zeal, or of frontier ideals of equality upon the English aristocratic political system, and we shall notice the ever continuing effort of the English authorities to duplicate in the diverse American settlements the political franchise of England."

The form in which the study has been cast renders it particularly difficult to accomplish the ends aimed at, but besides a clear presentation of each colony in the section devoted to it, there is a concluding chapter in which the differences and the similarities to the English law are brought together.

While filled with a mass of details, of necessary repetitions and without literary form, the monograph as a whole is a model of scholarly enthusiasm, industry and thoroughness. The absence of a formal bibliography is supplied by very full footnotes and there is an exhaustive index.

The first number of the current volume of the Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law is on *The*

Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia, by Enoch Marvin Banks, Ph. D. (O. pp. 142, 7 maps, 1 chart). This study is preceded by a historical survey of conditions since the war, but deals mainly with post bellum matter. The cropping system and the tenant system both seem to be giving way before the increased number of small farmers, and this change is ascribed to the Farmers' Alliance, to the increase in the number of country banks and the increased price of cotton. Strikingly interesting also are the several maps and statistics showing the steady increase in the number of negro land owners. The whole study seems to have been carefully worked out.

In a volume entitled *The Great Parliamentary Battle and Farewell Addresses of the Southern Senators on the Eve of the Civil War,* Mr. Thomas Ricaud Martin has brought together some of the debates which ushered in the more sanguinary struggle with arms. There are extracts from the debate between Breckenridge and Baker in January, 1861. The farewell speeches of Benjamin, Toombs, Davis, Yuler, Clay and Slidell are given. Benjamin and Breckenridge receive the lion's share of attention on the side of the South, while Baker receives all on the Northern side. (The Neale Company, Washington and New York, 1905. O. pp. 255.)

Historic Camden is a history of that town in South Carolina, made famous by the Revolutionary battle near there. The authors, who live there, have unearthed a "declaration" of the citizens in 1774, November, that are very positive in opposition to the motherland (State Publishing Co., Columbia, S. C., reviewed favorably in Charleston *News* of August 20, 1905).

The Spanish Settlements Within the Present

LIMITS OF THE UNITED STATES. FLORIDA, 1562-1574. By Woodbury Lowery. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. O. pp. xxi+500. $2.50 net.

This volume is a continuation of Mr. Lowery's earlier studies in this field with the same general title and covering the period from 1513 to 1561, which was published in 1901 and reviewed in these pages, vol. vi., p. 241. The present volume deals entirely with the Florida settlement of French Huguenots, under Laudonniere and Ribaut, their massacre by Pedro Menéndez in the name of God and the State and the summary vengeance taken on the succeeding Spanish colony by de Gourgues, and while bearing a relation to the earlier volume this episode of early American colonial history is complete in itself.

It is only within the last few years that it has been possible to write a definitive history of these expeditions and no event illustrates better the extent to which historical sources are now being issued. When Parkman published his *Pioneers of France in the New World* in 1865, he had access to only seven letters of Menéndez, procured for him by Buckingham Smith. Since then have appeared M. Paul Gaffarel's *Histoire de la Floride Francaise* and a part of the correspondence of Fourquevaux, French ambassador at Madrid, which shows the prominence these American events had in the French and Spanish diplomacy of the day; the correspondence of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés which appeared in 1893 in Ruidiaz's *La Florida;* the memorial of Mera's also appearing in Ruidiaz and the Life and Deeds of Menéndez, published by Garcia in his *Dos Antiquos Relaciones de la Florida.* The only other important source is Barcio's Ensoyo Cronologico and of these four principal Spanish sources three have appeared in the last twelve years.

Mr. Lowery basing his studies on the above Spanish authorities and on Bosanier, Hakluyt and Lemoyne in De-

Buy for the French side seems to have done his work with thoroughness. Book one treats of the French colony; Book two of the Spanish colony, while Book three deals with the Guale and Virginia missions, which are to be taken as a sort of aftermath of the events in Florida. There is a long and carefully prepared sketch of the career of Menéndez, of whom the author is an avowed admirer. If we can project ourselves backward and study Menéndez in the light of his letters we shall see "that in carrying through the appalling massacre of the French Huguenots in Florida, he was neither impelled by rage, nor violence, nor acting under the impulse of a blind fanaticism, but was deliberately and conscientiously performing what he believed to be his duty towards his king and his faith. And in this light we cannot withhold from him the respect due a courageous and faithful soldier, while we shudder at the distorted logic which could calmly justify his crime," (p. 140-1).

While we cannot justify his actions is it not true that we have gone as much to the other extreme as this man of blood and iron went in his day? Is the puling sentimentality and sickening philanthrophy with which we coddle and nurse inferior races one whit less blameworthy than the wholesale slaughter of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés?

There is a portrait of Menéndez at 50, he died at 55; four maps; many footnotes and appendices, showing wide research, and an index.

THE JOURNEY OF ALVAR NUNEZ CABEZA DE VACA 1528-36. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1905. D. pp. xxii+Il.+231, map, cloth, $1.00 net.

The latest member in the trail makers' series is Cabeza de Vaca's account of the trip across the continent from the Sabine river to Culiacan in western Mexico. This was the first trans-continental journey and was instrumental in

setting in motion the journey of Coronado and the later conquistadors. We are given here a new translation by Fanny Bandelier made from the first edition which was printed in Zamora, 1542. The introduction and notes are by Professor A. F. Bandelier, who calls attention to the confessed character of many sections of the original which require a pharaphrase in English. To the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca is added Mendoza's letter to the Emperor on the subject of the journey and Fray Marcos de Nizza's discovery of the seven cities of Cibola. The introduction discusses the influence and accuracy of the narratives and gives some account of the life of Cabeza de Vaca. The letter to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, as it merely summarizes the narrative proper is not printed, although Oviedo seems to consider it rather more credible than the narrative. There are three facsimiles and a map, but the book while well edited and well printed has no index.

That sound scholar and indefatigable investigator, Prof. W. L. Fleming, Morgantown, W. Va., has called the attention of the editors to a very valuable article on the Drug Conditions in the South during the Civil War, read by Dr. Joseph Jacobs, Atlanta, Ga., before a meeting of the American Pharmaceutical Association in 1898, and printed in volume XLVI of their *Proceedings*. Very likely it is the most thorough detailed account of the matter in existence as he discusses scientifically the makeshifts and substitutes gathered from field and forest to take the place of the manufactured articles.

Professor Fleming has published as Syllabus 97 of the New York Education Department a valuable outline of the Reconstruction of the Seceded States, 1865-70. It is intended as an historical outline for home reading and is furnished with bibliographical references to last subsection.

There is also an appendix of original material (pp. 58-154) consisting of reprints from the more important but less known documents, followed by a formal bibliography of eight pages. The whole is admirably adapted to its purpose and a reading of the section on public funds in South Carolina (pp. 102-116) may yet open the eyes of the unenlightened.

The *North Carolina Booklet* for October (quarterly, Raleigh, $1.00), gives a history of the State Capitol at Raleigh, by Charles Earl Johnson, with views of the State House destroyed in 1831, and of the present Capitol. Col. J. Bryson Grimes prints "Our Notes on Colonial North Carolina," of which the most valuable parts are the extracts from colonial wills. There are in the office of the Secretary of State many wills dated prior to 1760 from all parts of the province. It would be a very valuable service to print all of these wills in full, or as nearly in full as may be without losing the flavor of the times or impairing their influences as sources of history, biography and genealogy. Rev. H. C. Moore prints a chapter from his study of North Carolina poets. The present section deals with John H. Bower, H. J. Stockard and John Charles McNeill.

Mr. Wimberley Jones DeRenne, of Wormsloe, Isle of Hope, Chatham Co., Georgia, has printed a *Catalogue of Books Relating to the History of Georgia* to be found in his private library (Savannah: The Savannah Morning News. 1905. O. pp. 74). It includes between five and six hundred titles and is arranged under various sub-titles as Early History, Wormsloe editions, Whitfield, Wesley, Salzburgers, Oglethorpe, Works of C. C. Jones, Jr., Legal, Constitutional, State Papers, Yazoo, Indians, etc. It is particularly rich in books and pamphlets relating to the colonial period, but the later period of State life, the mis-

cellaneous books relating to Georgia and biographies of Georgians are not so well represented. It is understood that the publication is intended as a sort of check list to aid in further purchases, it being the purpose of Mr. DeRenne to print another edition in three or four years with notes and an appendix, stating where other known books, maps, manuscript, etc., not in this collection are to be found—in other words a working Bibliography of Georgia.

The list as here printed will seem as a useful review of the field of early Georgia historical literature and is a contribution to American library history. If Mr. William Dawson Johnston sees fit to include in his series of Contributions to American Library History an account of such collections as these he will do well. It is work worth while and although at present there are not many collections in the South of the size and value of the present one they are being formed and are constantly growing in number, in size and value. Catalogues similar to the present of the collection of Dr. Thomas M. Owen on Alabama, of Col. R. T. Durrett, of Kentucky, of Mr. F. A. Sondley, and Mr. Thomas M. Pittman, on North Carolina, if published would give an impulse to scholarship in the South and be a boon to workers in the Southern field. In typographical appearance Mr. DeRenne's Catalogue is on a par with earlier Wormsloe editions.

Professor R. N. Brackett, Clemson College, South Carolina, announces as ready for delivery *A History of the Old Stone Church,* comprising not only a narrative of that organization but also sketches of the prominent men connected with it, a list of the dead in the cemetery and a number of annual addresses dealing with the past of the church. The volume is illustrated. It will be sold at $1.07, paper, or $1.50, cloth, prepaid. The proceeds, beyond cost of publication, will go towards an endowment fund for the care

of the church and grounds. This church is located near the college, which, as well known, is at the home of John C. Calhoun.

Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, has prepared *The Funeral Chorals of the Unitas Fratrum,* or Moravian Church, in a pamphlet of twenty-three pages, containing sixteen chorals with the associated stanzas in English and German, which have been in use for more than one hundred and fifty years. (Paper, 25 cents, cloth, 50 cents, prepaid.)

Major Thomas L. Broun, Charleston, West Virginia, has reprinted from the *Times-Despatch,* of Richmond, Virginia, of July 30th, last, some material bearing on the genealogy of some members of the Broun family. It consists pretty largely of letters, some half a century old, touching on this pedigree.

THE LION'S SKIN: A historical novel and a novel history. By John S. Wise, author of "*The End of an Era,*" etc. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1905. 12 mo., pp. xv.+404.

The Lion's Skin continues through the Reconstruction days, and down to the Spanish war the story which John S. Wise so entertainingly told in *The End of an Era.* But in attempting to write what should be at the same time authentic history and pure fiction he has made a literary blunder which will cost his book the success which it might have had, and may be fatal to its life. Though the book has unity of purpose, it lacks unity of form. The history in it is frankly history, dealing, usually without disguise of names or places, with views and events as well known as household words to all who are conversant with Virginia politics during the Reconstruction period. The fiction is a

commonplace story of the love and marriage of the daughter of a liberal-minded Union man of New Jersey to a young Richmond lawyer, who had been a Confederate cavalryman. The lack of unity is due to the fact that the two parts are not well blended; and, in the nature of the case, they could not be. To accomplish that result, the author would have had to make the story paramount, modifying the history wherever the exigencies of the story made such a course necessary. This sacrifice he was manifestly unwilling to make. Hence in trying to do an impossible thing—write what should be at the same time good history and good fiction,—he has done neither.

To discuss the authenticity of the history in the book is not within the limits of this note. That, however, is, in the beginning, seriously discounted by the prominence given to the author's likes and dislikes. Whether Mr. Wise could write impartially of a period in which he played so active a part, and during which political animosities often separated life-long friends and led to social ostracism, may be doubted. But he could have related the story of his experiences and personal reminiscences in a sane and judicious manner—far removed from the style and the spirit of the "hot stuff"—to quote his own phrase—which has of late been put out to mold public opinion about the Reconstruction period. That the author did not frankly continue as a personal narrative what he began in *"The End of an Era"* is, in view of the present attempt to revive so many of the passions that were rife thirty or forty years ago, greatly to be regretted, GEORGE S. WILLS.

A SOUTHERN GIRL IN '61. By Mrs. D. Giraud Wright. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1905. O. pp. xii+258. Cloth, $2.75 net.

Mrs. Wright is the daughter of Louis T. Wigfall, United States Senator from Texas in 1861, a general in the Con-

federate service and a Confederate States Senator. The war time memories of life in the South during the great struggle here presented are based mainly on contemporary family letters now first printed and which show with a vividness that mere description could not approach the hopes and fears, the privations and sufferings and the crushing defeat of cherished plans to which the Southern people were doomed. There is little in the volume that deals with the war in its larger phases, save a number of intimate letters from Johnston to Wigfall chafing under his- enforced retirement in 1863 and 1864, but on the side which shows how the people lived and worked and the hardships they endured, on the side of the social life of the Confederacy the book is of great value. There are many noble tributes to the work of Confederate women and the intensity of feeling of the author makes extremely interesting reading. It is well illustrated by contemporary photographs and after studying the types of beautiful Southern women shown here, it ceases to be a matter of surprise why —despite the horrible factions of that day,—the Confederate fought to the bitter end. He was nerved to the struggle by the greatest of all human influences, love and beauty.

SOUTHERN WRITERS; selections in Prose and Verse. Edited by W. P. Trent. New York: The MacMillan Company. 1905. D. pp. xx+524, cloth.

The compilation covers the whole chronological range of Southern life from John Smith to Lucien V. Rule. It is devoted mainly to the novelists and poets. In fact the editor thinks that the South has done but poorly in science and essays and that post bellum history and scholarship are not equal to the work done in fiction. The volume is intended for use in schools and colleges and this gives reason for many of the notes. The editor expresses the belief that while the South has never been prolific of books and writers

"its people have contributed a larger and better share to the literature of the Republic than is generally admitted." His judgment on the authors represented is more lenient than an acquaintance with his former books would lead the reader to expect, but there is unpleasantly evident now and then a lack of sympathy and a more frequent damning with faint praise. The selections seem to be fairly well made both as concern the authors represented and the selections from their works. The short biographical sketches preceding the selections from each author, in part narrative, in part critical, are admirably done.

THE CAROLINIANS. By Annie L. Sloan. New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company. 1904. 12 mo., pp. 375.

The Carolinians is an attempt to sketch the social and official life of Charleston, S. C., about the year 1720, when the relations between the Colonists and the Lord's Proprietors were strained to the breaking point, and when every strange vessel that hove in sight of the town was eagerly watched to see if she were a pirate's ship. The core of the book is an ordinary story, in which the rivals for the hand of the governor's daughter are a rough-and-ready Indian fighter and a scape-grace member of the Council. There is some good characterization, and an occasional thrilling episode; but the book as a whole has nothing to commend it above the many other attempts that, in recent years, have been made to re-create Colonial and Revolutionary life in modern fiction. G. S. W.

THE LIFE WORTH LIVING. By Thomas Dixon, Jr. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1905. Cloth, with 52 ills., from photographs by the author.

After the sturm and drang of *The Leopard's Spots and The Clansman,* after the rush and roar of the city in *The*

One Woman, the author of those highly exciting and swiftly moving novels finds time to drop into rhapsodical praise of country life. He found joy and pleasure, rest and repose in a country home in tide water Virginia and writes with all the exuberance of boyish enthusiasm of his new surroundings. There are attractive chapters on dogs and the character of the country, amusing ones on experiences as a farmer, but enthusiasm reaches its climax with duck and goose shooting during the winter months. The rhapsody ends, curiously enough, with a return to the city with its vortex of humanity and misery. The subtitle calls the book a personal experience, and if we may judge Mr. Dixon's life by the character of his three very successful novels, he has drawn from his own experience the closing lines of the little volume before us. Only a madman writes forward without pause. The soul that lives must have hours of silence and repose.

SERENA: A novel. By Virginia Frazer Boyle. New York: A. S. Barnes & Company. 1905. 12°. pp. v.+378.

Virginia Frazer Boyle has been too successful in her short stories to have undertaken what the reading of this book would indicate that she is unable to do—write a long novel. When in her short stories she is at her best—in the delineation of negro characters,—she is good in this book. As for the rest of her story, it is unnatural, improbable, and often silly. G. S. W.

CURLY: A Tale of the Arizona Desert. By Roger Pocock. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1905. D. pp. 320, with ills. by Stanley L. Wood.

"Audi alteram partem," said the Latins: "put yourself in his place," says the novelist. An historical account of the slaughter of the four hundred and fifty priests of Baal by Elijah would be mightily interesting reading, but powerfully

unorthodox if written by Queen Jezebel; the kings of Israel and of Judah who "did evil in the sight of the Lord" might appear far different men had their biographies come down to us through other than priestly hands. The Anglo-Saxon love of fair play believes there is some good in every man and Anglo-Saxon custom insists that all shall have an honest shake before the law. Such is the story of Curly. Its characters are cowboys, cow thieves, horse thieves outlaws, robbers, drunkards, gamblers and Apaches. As Chalkeye, the cowboy spokesman, puts it, most all Arizona is divided into two hostile camps, the towns which stand for civilization and the reign of law and the range which stands for freedom where every man does what is right in his own eyes and protects his interests with gun play.

This is a story of Arizona life told from the standpoint of the cow thief, the cowboy and the rustler or robber. The man of the city who has grown into substantiality with his town appears as an evil genius whose only purpose is to rob under forms of law. The cowboy, like the knights of old, protects the weak and helpless. There is an abundance of local color. The author knows Arizona at first hand, with its desert and mesa, its savage mountains and naked rocks, its wastes of burning sands and green valleys, its torrential rains and dry arroyos, its coyotes and grizzlies, its sharp cliffs and deep canons, its savage men, white and red, and above all its God given climate unrivalled in all the world. He too has felt the call of the wild; for after the troubles of life are over and Jim and Curly have been again received into the bosom of civilization, they like others more real than the heroes and heroines of novels, hark back to the land of sunshine, there alone content to rest.

This novel, brimming over with gambling, robbing, rustling and gun play, giving a story from the standpoint of an outlaw, is full, nevertheless, of a rude sense of justice and attracts by the rapidity of its action and its faithfulness to

its natural surroundings. The cowboys painted are not however the cowboys of 1900 but of 1880. Time works his wonders in Arizona. Even here the reign of the six-gun is giving way, now in isolated spots, to the reign of law, the town man is triumphing over the plains man; while the murderous and bloodthirsty Apache has learned thoroughly and well the lesson of authority.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Early Imperialism in Our Politics. The bugaboo of imperialism with an overawing army appeared early in our politics. In the campaign in North Carolina for the ratification of the United States Constitution there occurred an instance, very effective at the time but very amusing now. One of the leaders of the opposition was a Baptist preacher. He addressed a meeting two days before the election and used the following as one of his main arguments: "This, my friends," said he, referring to the ten miles square of the District of Columbia, "will be walled in and fortified. Here an army of 50,000 or perhaps 100,000 will be finally embodied, and will sally forth and enslave the people, who will be gradually disarmed." The three representatives of the other side who tried to answer this absurd contention could scarcely escape with their lives. But they got even the next day by exhibiting at the court house a caricature of the preacher with an inscription, "Lo, he brayeth!" Practically a hot battle followed over this scare-crow, but the preacher with his ridiculous man of straw carried the day, as the State rejected the Constitution, but adopted it a year later. (Wake Forest Student, October, 1905.)

Lee's Democratic Simplicity.—"On a hot day's march across the river, General Lee, Longstreet, and their people had made a short midday halt in a little rising grove by the roadside, where we found a spring to wash down our soldier's fare. It was the hottest of July days, and the troops were moving by in long column, listlessly, and suffering from the heat. Soon I saw one of the men leave the ranks and approach General Lee. Some one tried to stop him, but the General kindly encouraged his coming forward. He

was a stout, well-built soldier, equal to any work, but sweating awfully. "What is it you want?" said Lee. "Please, General, I don't want much, but it's powerful wet marching this weather. I can't see for the water in my eyes. I came aside to this old hill to get a rag or *something* to wipe the sweat out of my eyes." "Will this do?" said the General, handkerchief in hand. "Yes, *my Lordy*, that indeed!" broke out the soldier. "Well, then take it with you, and back to the ranks; no straggling this march, you know, my man." (Page 182 of Sorrel's Recollections.)

Professor Charles L. Smith was installed as President of Mercer University, Macon, Georgia, on November 24th, last. Professor Smith is a Doctor of Philosophy of Johns Hopkins University, 1889, having previously graduated at Wake Forest, North Carolina. For some years past, he has been in charge of the historical department of William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri. By training and experience, he is most capably fitted for the onerous duties of his position.

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